Making the crossing : seduction, space and time in the art of Jean-Antoine Watteau and William Hogart

Making the Crossing: Seduction, Space and Time in the Art of Jean-Antoine Watteau and William Hogarth

Volume One: Text

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DECLARATION

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, this has been indicated.

Kirsten Yvonne Tambling

ABSTRACT

This thesis asks how seduction is addressed in the work of Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) and William Hogarth (1697-1764), in the context of early eighteenth-century cross-Channel relationships.

Literally meaning 'leading astray', seduction in the eighteenth century had resonances for sexuality, gender, morality, politics and aesthetics. This thesis uses a broad methodology, drawing on literary and social history, as well as the history of art, to provide an overview of seduction's parameters, and to address its implications on both sides of the Channel. Focusing on the period c.1700-40, when the work of both Watteau and Hogarth was at its most influential, it asks how these artists addressed seduction across these contexts.

The thesis thus contributes to current scholarship on both Watteau and Hogarth, showing seduction to have been a key concern for each. Addressing Hogarth's 'Progress' format and paintings alongside Watteau's *fêtes galantes*, theatrical paintings and *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (1720-21), it deals, in turn, with courtship in idyllic outdoor locations, with the legitimate (and illegitimate) temptations of the eighteenth-century city, and with the illusionistic context of the theatre.

In juxtaposing two 'canonical' artists whose lives, though related, did not significantly overlap, this thesis not only addresses both England and France during the early eighteenth century, but also interrogates the implications of juxtaposition as a methodology. Drawing on contemporary curatorial practice, including the increasingly common paired format of a number of twenty-first century exhibitions, it asks what academic art history might gain from these examples. It shows that juxtaposing Hogarth and Watteau can allow us to see these much-studied artists afresh, and to problematise some of the historical assumptions surrounding them—Watteau the 'poetic' dreamer; Hogarth the pugnacious satirist—as well as calling attention to aspects of the art of each that are less evident when looked at individually.

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Acknowledgments

In an uncharacteristically warm passage from his often splenetic *Anecdotes*, William Hogarth acknowledges 'the partiality with which the world has received my works, and the patronage and friendship with which some of the best characters in it have honoured the author'.[1] I have been fortunate in receiving plenty of both throughout the writing of this thesis, and, with Hogarth, must offer my 'best thanks'. These are due, firstly, to my expert supervisors, Professor Kate Retford, and Dr Ann Lewis, without whose unflagging guidance, encouragement and support I could not have written this thesis—and to the generous patronage of CHASE, and the Birkbeck School of Arts Anniversary Scholarship, without which I could not have undertaken it. With the further funding provided by the London History of Art Society in my second year, I was also able to spend crucial time working in Paris.

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[1] William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by himself…*, ed. John Bowyer Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), p.49.

Before and beyond Birkbeck, I benefitted from the advice, support and teaching of many others and would therefore also like to acknowledge, from my time at the University of Cambridge, my Director of Studies, Sarah Cain, and Drs Caroline Gonda and Philip Connell; and, at the Courtauld Institute of Art, Martin Caiger-Smith and the late Giles Waterfield. Others who have asked, or answered, crucial questions, and for whose time I am immensely grateful, include Dr Elizabeth Einberg, Jane Munro, Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Dr Nicholas Tromans, Jeannie Chapel, Professor Joanne Begiato, Professor David Clarke, and Michael Hall and my anonymous reviewer at the Burlington Magazine.

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Notes to the reader

Quotations

I maintain the grammar, spelling and orthography of all historical citations, in both French and English, using [sic] only where such spellings are liable to cause confusion. All French texts are given in French, with translations provided in Appendix I. Quotations in other languages are translated in the footnotes.

Artwork titles

I have named artworks either in French or in English, in accordance with the name used by the institution that holds them. Where there is uncertainty (as when an institution uses several different languages) I have maintained the French titles for Watteau's work.

Britain / England

Though my thesis deals in part, though not in whole, with the period after the 1707 Act of Union, it is clear that most of the French writers I cite thought primarily of 'Angleterre', the Franco-Scottish relationship having its own complex history. As a result of following the artists I consider and, in places, referring to the pre-1707 period, my thesis does not address Scotland in detail. I have therefore generally favoured 'England', except when alluding specifically to Britain—as in the context of national wars, Government Acts, or Hogarth's appropriation as a 'British artist' in the nineteenth century, arguably beginning with Allan Cunningham's *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (London: John Murray, 3 vols., 1829). However, as is particularly clear from the nineteenth-century writers I cite, these issues were neither neat nor straightforward.

INTRODUCTION

Juxtaposition and Seduction

In 1719, the thirty-five year old Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) made the journey from Paris to London. He returned to France the following year, but died soon afterwards, on 18 July 1721. Along with his last surviving work, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (fig. 71), he was celebrated for what became known as his *fêtes galantes*—notably his Academy reception piece, *Pèlerinage à l'île de Cythère* (fig. 16)—and hundreds of drawings. Between 1726 and 1739, his friend Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) commissioned and assembled engravings after much of Watteau's oeuvre into one of the first catalogues raisonnés: the *Recueil Jullienne*.[1] He observed as he did so that 'ses tableaux, qui sont montés à un très haut prix, sont encore recherchés aujourd'hui avec beaucoup d'empressement. On en voit en Espagne, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, en Prusse, en Italie, et dans beaucoup d'endroits de la France, surtout à Paris'.[2]

Though most of his paintings were still in Paris in 1726, in 1724 the art historian George Vertue had recorded two 'Watteaux Conversations. painted in England' in the collection of Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754).[3] As Jullienne hints, Watteau had also left in London an English taste for his work. Guillaume Glorieux notes 413 paintings (optimistically) attributed

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[1] For the *Recueil*, see Isabelle Tillerot, 'Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the "Recueil Jullienne"', *Getty Research Journal*, 3 (2011), 33-52 and Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, 1929), II.

[2] Jean de Jullienne, 'Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau…' [1726] in *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg (Paris: Hermann, 1984), pp.11-17 (pp.16-17).

[3] George Vertue Note Books vol. III, *Walpole Society, X*XII (1933-34), p.23.

to him as offered for sale in the English capital between 1724-1800; 5.4 a year on average.[4] In 1744, Count Rothenburg, the Paris-based agent of Frederick the Great (1712-86) felt able to write, inaccurately, to his master: 'tous les ouvrages que Watteau a fait sont presque en Angleterre où on en a fait un cas infini'.[5]

When Watteau came to London, William Hogarth (1697-1764) was twenty-one, and beginning to establish himself as an independent artist after his apprenticeship to the silver plate engraver Ellis Gamble. In April 1720, he issued the trade-card declaring him 'W Hogarth / Engraver', flanked by figures of Art and History.[6] His first major engravings, *An Emblematical Print on the South Sea Scheme* (1721-24) and *The Bad Taste of the Town* (1723-24), followed. Over the next decade, he was among the initiators of a new English interest in painted 'small Conversation pieces, from twelve to fifteen inches high', before, in the 1730s, moving into what he dubbed 'Modern Moral Subjects': series paintings and engravings including *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), *A Rake's Progress* (1733-34) and *Marriage à la Mode* (1743-45).[7] As Vertue recorded, from the first the *Harlot* 'captivated the Minds of most People persons of all ranks & conditions from the greatest Quality to the meanest'.[8]

Hogarth is often characterised as the tub-thumping 'Britophil', the pseudonym he used in his 1737 letter to the *St James's Evening Post*, complaining of 'picture jobbers from

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[4] Guillaume Glorieux, 'L'Angleterre et Watteau au XVIII[e]: La réception de la fête galante par les amateurs anglais', *The British Art Journal*, VII:2 (Autumn, 2006), 50-74 (p.50).

[5] Paul Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und die französische Malerei seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Verlag Von Albert Frisch, [1892]), p.7. On this quotation, see Martin Eidelberg, 'Watteau Paintings in England in the Early Eighteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, 117:870 (September, 1975), 576-83 (pp.576-77).

[6] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1970), I., cat. 3, p.92.

[7] William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by himself…*, ed. John Bowyer Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), p.8. See also Vertue Note Books, III., p.124.

[8] Vertue Note Books, vol. III., p.58.

abroad' who 'depreciate every English work as hurtful to their trade'.[9] Yet, despite such anti-French works as *The Invasion* (figs. 13-14), Robin Simon's recent study, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, has shown that Hogarth 'accepted the French school as having established the artistic standards that he sought to emulate', and admired artists such as Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779).[10] Like Watteau, Hogarth also crossed the Channel in pursuit of his artistic aims, demonstrating what Mark Cheetham calls his 'empirical cosmopolitanism'.[11] In May 1743, when Rothenburg was attempting to acquire Watteaus for Frederick the Great, Hogarth went in search of 'the best Masters in Paris' to engrave *Marriage à la Mode*.[12] Those he found—Bernard Baron (1696-1762), Simon François Ravenet (1706-74) and Louis Gérard Scotin *le jeune* (1690-c.1745)—had all previously worked on the *Recueil Jullienne*. Indeed Robert Cowley suggests that this collaboration gave them 'a potential unity of approach' suggesting a 'shrewdness [in] Hogarth's choice of copy-engravers'.[13] Hogarth returned to France in 1748, but was arrested for suspected spying at Calais. His painting and engraving *O The Roast Beef of Old England (The Gate of Calais)* (1748-49, Tate, London) commemorated this event in satirical terms.[14]

Hogarth and Watteau 'appear' together in a print by the engraver and publisher George Bickham Junior (c.1704-71), published in London c.1735-40. *The Rake's Rendez-vous*

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[9] Hogarth, *Anecdotes*, p. 42.

[10] Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: the Rise of the Arts in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007), pp.9, 28-29.

[11] Mark Cheetham, *Artwriting, Nation and Cosmopolitanism in Britain: The 'Englishness' of English Art Theory since the Eighteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p.23.

[12] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Saturday 2 April 1743, p.2.

[13] Robert Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p.11.

[14] See Timothy Erwin, 'William Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Nationalism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64:3/4 (2001), 383-410.

(fig. 1) has been characterised by David Kunzle as a 'plagiary' of *A Rake's Progress*.[15] Showing libertine figures carousing inside Tom King's coffee house, it offers a reversed perspective of Covent Garden from that later provided by Hogarth's *Morning* (1737, Upton House, Warwickshire).[16] For Kunzle, the figure on the far left has 'an undeniable basis in Hogarth', following (though reversing) the pose of the drunken rake in the third scene from Hogarth's second Modern Moral Subject (fig. 2). He adds, though, that the 'harlot' at the far right 'seems to caricature a "grande dame" of Watteau'.[17] Kunzle is non-specific, but this figure recalls Watteau's *Iris* (fig. 3), and a quotation from Watteau would not be unexpected: Bickham is established as having 'borrowed unashamedly' from the French artist.[18] He also adapted *Iris* in the 1733-41 *Universal Penman* (fig. 4), and many of his designs for *The Musical Entertainer* (1737-39) were copied from Watteau and Watteau-inspired originals.[19] However, in *The Rake's Rendez-vous*, contemporaneous with parts of *The Musical Entertainer*, Bickham unites this French precedent with an English one. In the process, he refigures and recontextualises the work of two of the eighteenth century's most celebrated artists: Watteau and Hogarth.

Like Bickham's engraving, this thesis juxtaposes Watteau and Hogarth. Setting the work of these two artists alongside each other, I take as my link the theme of seduction, which runs through the work of both. Hogarth's 'progress' form is underpinned by how people might be seduced from the proper path, while the figures populating Watteau's *fêtes galantes* are

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[15] David Kunzle, 'Plagiaries-by-memory of the "Rake's Progress" and the Genesis of Hogarth's Second Picture Story', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 29 (1966), 311-48.

[16] Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon, 2000), p.151.

[17] Kunzle, 'Plagiaries-by-memory', p.329.

[18] Brian Allen, 'Watteau and his Imitators in Mid-Eighteenth-century England', in *Antoine Watteau (1684-1721): le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, ed. François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Paris-Genève: Champion-Slatkine, 1984), pp.259-67 (p.262).

[19] Marianne Roland Michel, 'Watteau and England', in *The Rococo in England: A Symposium*, ed. Charles Hind (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986), pp.46-59 (pp.56-57).

would-be sexual seducers, courting their companions as they move through idyllic landscapes (rather than the multi-image series form of the Hogarthian 'progress'). Seduction itself was also a preoccupation in eighteenth-century Britain and France more generally. While I discuss its parameters below, I begin by introducing the aims and questions underlying the methodology of juxtaposition.

Juxtaposition

'Juxtaposition' implies two or more disparate elements coming together. However, in contrast to terms like 'merging' and 'fusing', it also requires that each element remain distinct, and comprehensible on its own terms. This thesis discusses Watteau, Hogarth, and their respective addresses to seduction, in detail both individually and together. This section addresses the frameworks within which that juxtaposition takes place.

Revisiting 'the canon'

Watteau and Hogarth have been much studied and discussed. Scholarship on them includes biographies, catalogues raisonnés and 'blockbuster' exhibitions that have travelled the

world, assessed both by scholars and the public.[20] As a result, anyone venturing into 'Hogarth studies' or 'Watteau studies' in the twenty-first century might fear there is little to add. How can we approach such canonical figures in a new, and relevant, way? One answer is to put them together. As I have suggested, a prompt for this juxtaposition is provided by Bickham's engraving. Yet Bickham's joke is precisely that this particular pairing is unexpected. Watteau's 'grand dame' is out of place in the brawling environment of Tom King's, where she appears not as a refined French aristocrat from a rural Arcadia, but something closer to Jonathan Swift's 1731 'Corinna, pride of Drury Lane / For whom no shepherd sighs in vain'.[21] Bickham's engraving relies on the unstated, but unquestioned, perception that Watteau and Hogarth, like Arcadia and prostitution, are ironic opposites.

This perception can be traced in each artist's historiography. In 1939, Richard Altick described how '[Hogarth's] sharp graving tools were used with deadly effectiveness to deflate the sagging balloon of pretense and to prick the thick skin of the English conscience'.[22] Reflecting a common perception of Hogarth as an engraver, as a morally-concerned satirist, and as an aggressive, indeed 'pugnacious' figure, this characterisation dates back to John

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[20] Significant works include: Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat's *Antoine Watteau 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*, 3 vols (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996); Ronald Paulson's *Graphic Works*, and multi-volume *Hogarth*, rev. edn, 3 vols (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991-93); Elizabeth Einberg's *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), and the catalogues accompanying the 1984 *Watteau 1684-1721* exhibition at the Washington Gallery of Art and the Louvre, ed. Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, with Nicole Parmantier (Washington: Washington Gallery of Art, 1984) and the *Hogarth* exhibitions at London's Tate Gallery in 1971 (ed. Lawrence Gowing) and 2006 (ed. Mark Hallett and Christine Riding).

[21] Jonathan Swift, 'A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed', in *Swift: Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), ll.1-2, pp.517-19.

[22] Richard Altick, 'Humorous Hogarth: His Literary Associations', *The Swanee Review*, 47:2 (April-June, 1939), 255-67 (p.256).

Trusler's 1768 *Hogarth Moralised*, authorised by the artist's widow.[23] Twenty years after Altick, Peter Quennell was among the first to emphasise that Hogarth was born 'under the shadow of an ancient church and in the immediate neighbourhood of a hospital, a prison, a fairground and a market place', connecting Hogarth, Hogarth's art and 'Hogarthian London'.[24] Quennell's approach expands to consider Hogarth as an outward-looking figure whose engagement with his surroundings makes him almost a representative of the eighteenth-century (art) world itself. This has been followed by many subsequent biographers, evidenced by their titles: Jack Lindsay's *Hogarth: His Art and His World*, William Gaunt's *The World of William Hogarth* and Jenny Uglow's *Hogarth: A Life and a World*.[25] The linked sense that the London-based Hogarth, working in the reproducible engraving format, can be considered an artist 'of the people' has also engendered debates about whether he can be considered proto-Marxist, or structurally aligned with the underdog.[26]

Watteau also spent most of his life in a metropolis. However, unlike Hogarth, he has historically been associated with an enchanted rural setting drawn from his *fêtes galantes*. To this is added a sense that, despite his lowly origins, Watteau was a painter who engaged directly, not only with the aristocracy, but also with the philosophical underpinnings of aristo-

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[23] The champion of Hogarth as painter is Einberg, whose 2016 catalogue raisonné superseded her *Hogarth the Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997).

[24] Peter Quennell, *Hogarth's Progress* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p.13.

[25] Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth: His Art and his World* (London: Hart-Davis; MacGibbon, 1977); William Gaunt, *The World of William Hogarth* (London: J. Cape, 1978); Jenny Uglow, *William Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997). For a critique of this idea, see Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: the Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp.4-9.

[26] The most sustained Marxist reading of Hogarth is Lindsay, *Hogarth*.

cratic culture, notably the concept of *honnêteté*.[27] Moreover, despite leaving a large body of drawings, Watteau has generally been considered a painter. For Edmond and Jules de Goncourt (1822-96; 1830-70), these paintings show 'nature, où le peintre promenait ses poésies ! O campagne ! […] des bosquet propices aux jeux de l'écho !'[28] Terms like 'poésie' and 'écho' suggest an ambiguity in this 'peintre' that can be connected with Watteau's distinctive use of layered glazes, a technique that prompted John Constable to describe Watteau's *Les Plaisirs du bal* (c.1715-17, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London) as 'painted in honey; so mellow, so tender, so soft, and so delicious'.[29]

This contrasts with the characterisation of Hogarth outlined above. However, it also reflects a perception of Watteau as a painter, working with warm, mellifluous colours, not as an engraver working with monochrome, or a draughtsman with line. He is a 'tender' artist, his works characterised by an indefinable 'tristesse'. This 'tristesse' is drawn equally from his painted subjects—read as fantastical aristocratic worlds from a lost *ancien régime*—and from the knowledge that he himself died young of tuberculosis. Indeed, in 1921, Camille Mauclair argued that '[l]a phtisie a joué dans la sensibilité et l'imagination de Watteau un rôle cristallisateur', and that '[e]n bonne santé, il n'eût été peut-être qu'un Lancret'.[30] Despite attempts at historiographical re-evaluation, Watteau's 'sadness' was re-asserted as late as 1971, when John Sunderland suggested it 'may partly be attributed to the fact that [he] was a

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[27] For examples of *honnêteté* in discussions of Watteau, see Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century France* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. pp.75-98 and Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.108-52.

[28] Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1873-80; Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1896), I. p.4.

[29] *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable Esq. RA…*, ed. C. R. Leslie (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1845), p.210.

[30] Camille Mauclair, 'La Maladie de Watteau', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XL (June - December, 1921), 100-8 (pp.106, 108).

consumptive who died, like Raphael and Chopin, at […] thirty-seven'.[31] The sense that Watteau's works are 'ambiguous', or inaccessible, memorably discussed by Norman Bryson, is linked to this.[32] It was perhaps best expressed by Hélène Adhémar, who described Watteau's paintings as 'l'abstraction même du sujet, exprimée par la poésie', using the term previously used by the Goncourt brothers, and a keyword for Watteau scholarship.[33]

Though Hogarth's personality is often felt to be similarly present in his work, it is different in tone. 'In person as well as on the canvas he was quick, pungent and spirited,' writes Uglow, while Ronald Paulson is one of many to have compared Hogarth with the 'bluff, honest-faced pug' who appears in his 1745 self-portrait (Tate, London) as a symbol of the artist's 'toughness and durability'.[34] These readings are supported by the artist's own series of autobiographical writings, which provide broader scope for biographical analysis than the more limited equivalent material for Watteau.[35] And, indeed, over and above the detail that characterises many of his pictures, the volume of written material available on Hogarth may also account for the point that, unlike the 'ambiguous' Watteau, he is often considered a 'readable' figure. This perception has worked to his detriment: in 1937, Sacheverell Sitwell declared that, in Hogarth's work, '[n]othing is there without an excuse';

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[31] Ettore Camesasca and John Sunderland, *The Complete Paintings of Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p.7.

[32] Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.58-88. For a more recent discussion, see Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.231-50. For the theoretical problem of 'ambiguity' in relation to Watteau, see Thomas Crow, 'Codes of Silence: Historical Interpretation and the Art of Watteau', *Representations*, 12 (Autumn, 1985), 2-14 and James Elkins, 'On Monstrously Ambiguous Paintings', *History and Theory*, 32:3 (October, 1993), 227-47.

[33] Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau: sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris: Librairie Laurent Tisné, 1950), p.137.

[34] Uglow, *Hogarth*, p.172; Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., p.261.

[35] These were (substantially) edited and published by Nichols as *Anecdotes of William Hogarth*. See Paulson, *Hogarth*, III., pp.414-15.

his details were 'the extreme of painstaking ingenuity' but, as a whole, his oeuvre 'is not, and cannot be, the highest art'.[36]

There are sets of oppositions here between the two artists, crystallising around tone, impression, media and interpretation. The boldness of each becomes more prominent when viewed in contrast to the other. Hogarth is an engraver; Watteau a painter. Hogarth is an urban satirist; Watteau a 'golden' painter of fantastical Arcadias. While Hogarth's engravings have—as Charles Lamb (1775-1834) wrote in 1811—'the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of *words*', Watteau's paintings are 'misty poetry'; 'poetry' implying ambiguity in implicit contrast to the imagined clear communicative function of prose.[37] Though many of these ideas arose in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of their oppositions are implicit in *The Rake's Rendez-vous*, which pitches the 'grand dame' against the prostitute; the rake against the *fête galante.*

However, the English Bickham's Watteau-inflected 'Corinna' also has the additional gloss of 'Frenchness'. In eighteenth-century English stereotype, the Frenchman, often pictured as an ape or baboon, was imagined to 'ap[e] good manners, revealing his insincerity by exaggeration, concealing his poverty in empty display'.[38] Watteau's 'appearance' in Tom King's therefore implies a dishonesty in his decorous *fêtes galantes* that, in this English setting, can be recognised: this 'grand dame' is really 'Corinna'. However, this relies on the viewer accepting that Watteau intended to present such a decorous tone. If Watteau's work is ironic, or even viewed outside Bickham's specific national and tonal framework, the joke col-

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[36] Sacheverell Sitwell, *Narrative Pictures: A Survey of English Genre and its Painters* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1937), p.3.

[37] Charles Lamb, 'Essay on the Genius and Character of Hogarth', in *Anecdotes*, ed. Nichols, pp.91-118 (p.92). The allusion to 'misty poetry' is from Anita Brookner, *Watteau*, rev. edn (London: Hamlyn, 1971), p.13.

[38] David Bindman, How the French Became Frogs: English Caricature and a National Stereotype', *Apollo*, 498 (August, 2003), 15-20 (p.16).

lapses. Bickham's juxtaposition relies on a set of clichés embedded in national identity; an idea I return to below.

Recent years have seen scholars working on both Watteau and Hogarth attempting to peel away such assumptions. For Hogarth, this has meant a turn away from the graphic works in favour of the paintings, with an attendant re-positioning of satire within his oeuvre. Elizabeth Einberg's recent catalogue raisonné is an important example of this trend.[39] However, there has also been an increasing interest in viewing Hogarth in theoretical terms, Frédéric Ogée and Peter Wagner having discussed his graphic work in the light of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida.[40] Others have considered Hogarth's address to race and gender.[41] Meanwhile, Watteau scholarship has moved away from the 'poetic' frameworks of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries towards a practical historicist approach, exemplified by Mary Sheriff's significantly-titled 2006 collection, *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*.[42]

These movements contrast: Hogarth scholarship becoming increasingly theoretical; Watteau placed with ever more insistence in his eighteenth-century context. However, elements of each original set of traditions remain when scholars look from Watteau to Hogarth and vice versa. David Bindman, for example, contrasts 'the artificiality of Watteau and the

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[39] Einberg, *William Hogarth*.

[40] Theoretical approaches include: *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, ed. David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée and Peter Wagner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995); Wagner, 'How to Mis(Read) Hogarth: Or, Ekphrasis Galore', *1650-1850, Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, Volume 2 (1996), 203-40; Frédéric Ogée, 'L'Œil erre: les parcours sériels de Hogarth', *Tropismes*, 5 (1991), 39-105.

[41] See David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth-century English Art* (Kingston-upon-Thames: Dangaroo Press, 1985) and *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[42] *Antoine Watteau*, ed. Sheriff; Crow, *Painters and Public Life*; Vidal, *Painted Conversations*; Plax, *Watteau and Cultural Politics.*

more frank and direct spirit of Hogarth'.[43] While building on the reassessments, I also address these assumptions as part of each artist's history. In looking at them side by side, I argue, both can be viewed afresh; the assumptions surrounding them problematised. Watteau's 'langour' can be viewed in the context of Hogarth's 'pugnaciousness'; Hogarth's 'biting satire' through Watteau's 'misty poetry'.

Historiographical juxtaposition

Precedents for this approach can be found in those historiographical moments when Watteau's viewers have looked to Hogarth, and Hogarth's to Watteau. Since Hogarth is the chronologically later artist, it is unsurprising to find more Hogarth scholars referencing Watteau than vice versa. In fact, excluding discussions of the 'Watteauesque' in England, I have found only one example of a developed allusion to Hogarth by a scholar on Watteau. Adhémar imagines how Hogarth 'a regardé travailler ces Français bavards' on St Martin's Lane, and suggests that 'sa « Marchande de crevettes » le prouve'.[44] This assertion of artistic influence draws on the idea of Hogarth as 'Britophil'. Adhémar imagines Hogarth watching French artists with suspicion, while drawing from their work. However, her link between France and *The Shrimp Girl* (c.1750, National Gallery, London) is not usually made by Hogarth scholars; Quennell, indeed, dubbing the painting 'a product of the London world'.[45] Whether or not Adhémar's suggestion is accepted, its existence suggests that scholars on Watteau read Hogarth differently to those working on eighteenth-century British art. This thesis seeks to harness the potential of these different ways of looking.

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[43] David Bindman, *Hogarth*, 2nd edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), p.47.

[44] Adhémar, *Watteau*, p.89.

[45] Quennell, *Hogarth's Progress*, p.297.

Though references to Watteau within Hogarth studies are thus more frequent than vice versa, these scholars usually assume that Hogarth was influenced by the French artist. This not only includes suggestions of direct influence, but also mediated connections. Paulson argues that the first plate of *A Harlot's Progress* (fig. 54) borrows from Watteau's *La Diseuse d'aventure* (fig. 57) (a connection I discuss in Chapter Three), and that Hogarth drew on Watteau's military work for *The March to Finchley* (1749-50, The Foundling Museum, London).[46] However, he also highlights 'intermediary' London-based French artists such as Philippe Mercier (1689-1760), to argue that 'it was the Watteauesque picture' (rather than Watteau's pictures) 'that attracted Hogarth'.[47] Hogarth is thus imagined to respond to a mediated vision of Watteau's art, 'translated' into an English idiom. Similarly, Mark Hallett argues that Pieter Angellis's *Covent Garden Market* (1726, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven) follows 'the example of Watteau', in an essay comparing its subject and approach with Hogarth.[48] Meanwhile, Bindman points to the English artist's domestic links to French (or French-inspired) artists such as François Gravelot (1699-1773) and Francis Hayman (1708-76) to suggest that he need not have looked beyond them.[49]

Though most agree that these figures who mediated the work of Watteau in England should be considered, there are varying views of their importance. Frederick Antal is critical of Mercier's prominence, arguing that Hogarth was 'the first real English imitator of Watteau'.[50]

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[46] Paulson, *Art of Hogarth*, pp.15, 57-58.

[47] Paulson, *Art of Hogarth*, p.15.

[48] Mark Hallett, 'The View Across the City: William Hogarth and the Visual Culture of Eighteenth-century London', in *Hogarth*, ed. Bindman, Ogée and Wagner, pp.146-62 (p.153).

[49] Bindman, *Hogarth*, pp.47, 111.

[50] Frederick Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p.35. For Mercier, see Eidelberg, 'Watteau Paintings in England', pp.577-78; Allen, 'Watteau and his Imitators', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, pp.259-67 (pp.259-60) and Ralph Edwards, 'Mercier's Music Party', *The Burlington Magazine*, 90:548 (November, 1948), 306+308-12.

'So greatly,' he adds, 'did he appreciate the French artist that the few engravings he possessed included some after Watteau'.[51] By implication, Hogarth is a more 'real' imitator because of his deeper consideration of the French artist: though Hogarth's works may be ostensibly less 'Watteauesque' than Mercier's, they bespeak a 'truer' affinity. Antal's argument is echoed by Simon, who devotes a chapter to Watteau's visit to London and what Hogarth drew from it.[52] For Simon, 'Hogarth's instinctive sympathies were with the "awkward squad" of the French Académie: Watteau, Chardin, La Tour and Le Bas', an 'instinctive' temperamental relationship that saw Hogarth draw on Watteau's work.[53] These models of influence prioritise temperament and perceived structural position in the art world (such as generic 'awkwardness') over the issues on which Paulson and Hallett focus: length of exposure to other artists' work; practical intersections.

This distinction suggests another way of juxtaposing Watteau and Hogarth. As well as drawing links between their works, these scholars have compared their personalities, attitudes and social positions. For them, Watteau could be viewed through Hogarth as a fellow member of the 'awkward squad' within (or against) academic art. However, as Jorge Luis Borges argued, 'every writer creates his own precursors. His work modifies our conception of the past, as it will modify the future.' For Borges, the idea of a successive chain of influence must be seen through later 'readers'. We look for precursors to Kafka in Browning or Kierkegaard; like Borges, we may find points of commonality. However, 'if Kafka had never written a line, we would not perceive this quality'.[54] Our reading of Kafka inflects our reading of his precedents.

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[51] Hogarth's engravings after Watteau are listed in H. Wareham Harding, 'Mrs Hogarth's Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 85:499 (October, 1944), 237-39 (p.238).

[52] Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.68-84.

[53] Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, p.3.

[54] Jorge Luis Borges,'Kafka and his Precursors', trans. James E. Irby, in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed. Donald Yates and Irby, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 2000), pp.234-36 (p.236).

Looking at Watteau after Hogarth, we notice Hogarthian elements. This thesis aims to interrogate these ways of looking, to explore assumptions around influence, inheritance and artistic afterlife.

Methodological precedents

Though these historiographical juxtapositions provide one model for my project, the most obvious example of juxtaposition within the discipline of history of art is not the monograph or essay, but the museum or gallery pairing.[55] When Tate Modern opened in 2000, its permanent collection included a juxtaposition (fig. 5) of Richard Long's *Red Slate Circle* (1988) and *Waterfall Line* (2000) with Claude Monet's *Water-Lilies* (after 1916). Here, as frequently in the museum space, the juxtaposition was created by a mediating figure (a curator). It took place within space, rather than in a scholarly text, and was assumed to be, to an extent, time-limited (the spaces were later re-hung). Visitors were offered little analysis of this juxtaposition. Its power was assumed to lie not in its scholarly proposition—uncovering links between the works—but rather in its visual impact.

Tom Lubbock characterises Tate's approach as dramatic. 'The gallery was no longer an archive of art history,' he writes: 'It was an art theatre […] It put the artwork in the service

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[55] On the issues underlying the creation of meaning via juxtaposition in the museum, see Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: the Subject of Cultural Analysis* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), esp. pp.87-134; Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992); Andrew McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp.107-54 and the essays in (especially) Part I of *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

of a larger spectacle. History was abandoned. Themes ruled.'[56] This opposition between 'theatre' and 'spectacle' on the one hand, and 'archive' and 'history' on the other, is also a distinction between the spontaneity of drama (literally, 'action') and the implicit slowness of the 'archive', which, along with the museum itself, answers Foucault's criteria for a 'heterotopia', organising a 'perpetual and unlimited accumulation [of time] within an irremovable place'.[57] By contrast, writes Tony Bennett, the alternative heterotopia of the fairground, driven by experience and spectacle rather than 'accumulation', is 'the museum's own prehistory come to haunt it'.[58]

The juxtaposition of Monet and Long did not arise from an 'accumulation of time', or archival research. It was curatorial showmanship; a playful, and temporary, proposition comparable to what Terry Smith dubs the 'zone' museum, where:

> a curator will bring together works of art and artefacts from many times and places to suggest previously unseen affinities […] usually those between artworks that, unexpectedly and without regard for actual historical time, seem, to a contemporary observer, to share a similar mode in their pursuit of a topic, or to pursue a closely related topic in dissimilar ways.[59]

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[56] Tom Lubbock, 'Moving Pictures: Tate Modern Presents First Gallery Rehang', *The Independent*, 22 May 2006, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/moving-pictures-tate-modern-presents-first-gallery-rehang-479342.html [accessed 2 February 2017].

[57] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), pp.330-36 (p.334).

[58] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.2-3.

[59] Terry Smith, *What is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp.58-59. The 'zone museum' can be compared with the consciously provocative projects of artists such as Fred Wilson, whose 1992-3 *Mining the Museum* was based on self-consciously jarring juxtapositions. See Lisa Marrin, *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1992).

As Lubbock suggests, there is an implicit opposition between this kind of time-limited and time-travelling 'spectacle' and 'serious' scholarly propositions based around gradual research, followed by the public presentation of findings. Nonetheless, the twenty-first century has seen an increasing interest in 'paired' exhibitions, showcasing both established historical relationships and artists speaking 'across time'. Tate Modern themselves staged *Matisse / Picasso* in 2002; Dulwich Picture Gallery followed in 2011 with *Twombly and Poussin: Arcadian Painters*.[60] Both the format and its rise can be read cynically: museums are increasingly focused around temporary exhibitions, and double the artists promise double the audiences.[61]

While my project draws on these precedents, it sits within the field of scholarly art history, at the intersection of a precisely located set of contexts: specifically, the period covering the lives and careers of Watteau and Hogarth (1684-1764), and those of their works that speak to their shared interest in seduction. However, in approaching the thesis through juxtaposition—staged in the 'archive' rather than the 'theatre'—I also apply the provocation staged by these exhibitions to my own discipline. I therefore take up the challenge posed by Robert Storr, for whom a well-chosen gallery pairing could 'demonstrate how works familiar, perhaps over-familiar to both the frequent as well as the occasional visitor, can be seen afresh'.[62]

The potential of this approach is demonstrated by one precedent for my project from the history of art: Caroline Arscott's 2008 *William Morris and Edward Burne Jones: Interlacings*.

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[60] *Matisse / Picasso* (Tate Modern, 11 May - 18 August 2002); *Twombly and Poussin: Arcadian Painters* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, 29 June - 25 September 2011). See also: *Raw Truth: Auerbach-Rembrandt* (Rijksmuseum; Ordovas, 4 October - 1 December 2013); *Francis Bacon / Henry Moore: Flesh and Bone* (Ashmolean Museum, 12 September 2013 - 19 January 2014); *Picasso and Rivera: Conversations Across Time* (LACMA, 4 December 2016 - 7 May 2017) and *Dalí / Duchamp* (Royal Academy of Arts, 7 October 2017 - 3 January 2018). *The Shape of Time* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (6 March - 8 July 2018) follows a similar format, juxtaposing (among others) Titian and Turner.

[61] On the rise of the temporary exhibition, see McClellan, *Art Museum*, pp.193-232.

[62] Robert Storr, 'Show and Tell', in *What Makes a Great Exhibition?*, ed. Paula Marincola (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.14-31 (p.14).

Arscott considers these Victorian artists side by side, based on a sense of 'close interconnections in theme, allusion and formal strategy' in their work, and their historical friendship, a 'defining feature of both their lives'.[63] This approach, she suggests, allows for a new 'emphasis on masculinity' in reading Morris, an aspect already accepted as important in discussions of Burne-Jones.[64] The project thereby explores two artists whose careers 'interlaced', using the discussion of each to highlight previously less considered elements in the other. The book's format reflects this. Alternating chapters on each artist precede a section addressing the stained glass project which Arscott argues was Burne-Jones's tribute to Morris. Though the book's title asserts 'interlacings', its methodology is juxtaposition.

However, as 'interlacings' suggests, Arscott also approaches her subject through metaphor, one methodological solution to the problem of reading design (Morris) alongside oil painting (Burne-Jones). Metaphor—speaking of one thing using the terms of another—is a fitting methodological device for a project that reads two artists side-by-side. Indeed, this is how Arscott frames the discussion as a whole: '[t]he sense of subjectivity that is projected in the work […] leads me to characterise the projects of Burne-Jones and Morris as suggesting bodily associations with the skin: epidermal in the former and dermal in the latter'.[65]

The clearest methodological distinction between this thesis and Arscott's project is that, whereas Arscott reads two artists whose lives 'interlaced', I consider figures whose lives, though connected, did not significantly overlap. While drawing on her example, I am therefore working within an expanded frame of reference. By juxtaposing a British artist and a French one, rather than two British artists, I introduce a cross-Channel dimension to my

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[63] Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), p.9.

[64] Arscott, *Interlacings*, p.23.

[65] Arscott, *Interlacings*, p.27.

discussion of each artist, and to seduction as the subject linking them. As a result, whereas Arscott conceptualises the relationship between Morris and Burne-Jones as akin to the 'dense mesh' she uses to characterise Morris's design work, my project does not argue for such tight intertwinings.[66] Instead, the thesis as a whole draws on elements of both seduction (my theme) and juxtaposition (my methodology). While considering Watteau and Hogarth side by side, each in their own contexts and with their own concerns, I ask how those contexts and concerns also lean towards, and attract, each other.

Seduction

Having discussed the parameters of my methodology, I turn to my theme: seduction. This section concludes with a definition of the term, and a brief discussion of its place within the eighteenth-century Anglo-French world. However, I begin by addressing my selection of Watteau and Hogarth specifically, and the reasons why they are particularly important figures both for seduction, and for cross-Channel seduction specifically. Since much of my reasoning is already implicit in Bickham's *Rake's Rendez-vous*, it remains in the background of this discussion.

[66] Arscott, *Interlacings,* p.34.

Why Watteau and Hogarth?—Fame

As already suggested, Bickham's use of Watteau and Hogarth is not straightforward quotation; Kunzle characterising *The Rake's Rendez-vous* as a 'plagiary-by-memory' of Hogarth's Modern Moral Subject, and, similarly, referring only to a '"grand dame" of Watteau'. By implication, though Bickham may have intended to copy the *Rake* and *Iris*, he actually produced a mediated vision of each artist's work, relying on his viewers' familiarity with them. Vertue provided some context for this when, in 1729—some few years before Bickham's engraving—he noted that 'Mr Hogarths paintings gain every day so many admirers that happy are they that can get a picture of his painting'.[67] Critical and commercial success followed with the *Harlot* and the *Rake* in the 1730s. The 1735 Engravers' Copyright Act, dubbed 'Hogarth's Act', further secured Hogarth's resultant income, which Paulson estimates at £1,500 a year.[68] Meanwhile, although Watteau had been dead for over a decade by the 1730s, the market in his works noted by Jullienne and Count Rothenburg was thriving, particularly in England. Biographies and tributes continued to appear in France. The Abbé de La Marre published 'L'Art et la nature réunis par Watteau' in 1736, and Edmé-François Gersaint's account of Watteau's life appeared in 1744, a year before Dezallier d'Argenville's *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, which also included him.[69] When Bickham united them, each artist had a strong position within eighteenth-century cultural consciousness—in Britain; in France; across the two.

In addition to their shared cultural prestige, Watteau's and Hogarth's fame already transcended specific works. Kunzle highlights the thriving early eighteenth-century market

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[67] Vertue Note Books, III, p.41.

[68] Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., p.45.

[69] See *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.24-25, 29-40.

in Hogarthian prints, attempting to profit from the success of the artist's Modern Moral Subjects, which had partially driven Hogarth's original interest in the 1735 Act. Moreover, as Brian Allen writes, 'in England, the taste for works in the style of Watteau was mostly satisfied by copies, pastiches and prints'.[70] Watteau's death made this transition particularly noticeable. However, even in the 1730s, both artists' fame drew on a perception that, beyond their individual works, each had a recognisable 'style' or 'character' with significant market appeal. Though he may have drawn from specific works in formulating it, Bickham's *Rake's Rendez-vous* also seems to draw on this. In combining drunken revelry and social realism with aristocratic deportment and elegance, he unites elements familiar from each artist's oeuvre in the context of a new print which, in alluding to two artists of a similar stature, was aimed at the widest possible audience.

Watteau and Hogarth have continued to enjoy comparable status since, as in the scholarship discussed above. However, they also share broader points of commonality that make them a particularly suggestive juxtaposition. Both were regarded in their lifetimes as innovators: Hogarth the inventor of the Modern Moral Subject and developer of the conversation piece; Watteau the artist who realised the potential of the *fête galante* and even caused it to be so named.[71] Paul Duro writes that '[w]ithout Watteau there could have been no Boucher, Fragonard or Chardin,' and, indeed, the training of François Boucher (1703-70) had largely consisted of engraving Watteau's work for the *Recueil*.[72] Though Boucher was Hogar-

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[70] Brian Allen, 'Watteau and his Imitators', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, p.259.

[71] On the origins of the *fête galante*, see Oliver T. Banks, *Watteau and the North: Studies in the Dutch and Flemish Baroque Influence on French Rococo Painting* (London; New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977), pp.152ff.

[72] Duro, *Academy and Limits*, p.250; Christoph Martin Vogtherr, 'Jean de Jullienne as a Collector of Paintings', in Vogtherr and Jennifer Tonkovich, *Jean de Jullienne: Collector and Connoisseur* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2011), pp.11-27 (p.11).

th's nearer contemporary, Watteau presents a more provocative case for juxtaposition with Hogarth in terms of his position and significance within eighteenth-century art.

Moreover, the time lag between the career of the French artist (1684-1721) and the later-born British one (1697-1764) reflects the view that, during this period, 'France was […] elder sibling to England'.[73] The French 'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture' had been established in 1648, to provide training and life drawing opportunities for young artists, whereas, as Elizabeth Einberg writes, 'it is usual to begin eighteenth-century British art history somewhere around 1730 with the early paintings of Hogarth, and certainly never before 1714'.[74] My selection of a chronologically earlier French artist and a later British one reflects this asymmetry.

Why Watteau and Hogarth?—Cross-Channel relationships

Elements of Britain's sibling-like relationship with France feed into Bickham's engraving, and form an important part of my thesis. Though Kunzle juxtaposes a motif from Hogarth and from Watteau in *The Rake's Rendez-vous*, the 'straddled position of Rakewell's legs' he identifies has also been claimed by Simon as a borrowing by Hogarth from Watteau's *Portrait of Antoine de la Roque*, painted c.1721, but engraved by Bernard Lépicié for the *Recueil Jullienne* in 1734 (fig. 6).[75] This complicates the narrative of a united 'Hogarth and Watteau' image.

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[73] Elenor Ling, *Vive la Différence! The French and English Stereotype in Satirical Prints,1720-1815* (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2007), p.3.

[74] Elizabeth Einberg, 'Introduction', in *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700-1760*, ed. Einberg (London: Tate Gallery, 1988), pp.11-17 (p.11). On the French Academy, see Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp.23-25 and Duro, *Academy and Limits*.

[75] Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, p.29. For *La Roque*, see Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), p.255.

Theoretically, the whole engraving could be traced to Watteau, despite the intervention of the *Rake*, which shapes the subject and tone, and is itself newly shaped here. However, La Roque's stance also reappeared in the work of Hogarth's friend Hayman, for whom it became a 'stock pose' (figs. 7-8), and in that of Hayman's pupil, Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) (fig. 9).[76]

This range of images mapped around Watteau's *Antoine de la Roque* speaks of a network of artistic references traversing France and Britain through hazily defined lines of influence. Theoretically, Hayman could have drawn his 'stock pose' from Watteau, or 'from' Watteau via Hogarth's *Rake.* Gainsborough's teacher is his obvious primary source, but he could have looked to any of Hogarth, Watteau or Hayman.[77] Meanwhile, the personal relationship between Hayman and Hogarth does not preclude Hayman having looked directly to France (as Allen suggests), rather than to the *Rake*, and the same could theoretically be true of Gainsborough. Finally, it is possible that Bickham, an established poacher of Watteauesque motifs, himself took the pose directly from the engravings after Watteau's work that had already furnished material for *The Musical Entertainer.* My thesis sits in this context of these interrelated free-flowing artistic threads.

The relationship between Britain and France during the combined lifetimes of Watteau and Hogarth is therefore another enveloping concern. Key in both artists' work and historiographies, it forms another reason for selecting these two figures. Together with his lifelong residence in London, and his status within British art (alluded to by Einberg), Hogarth's identity as 'Britophil' has implicated him in issues of British, and particularly English

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[76] This connection is also noted by Allen, who links Hayman with Watteau, not Hogarth. See Allen, 'Watteau and his Imitators', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, p.42.

[77] See Michael Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough: A Little Business for the Eye* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.133.

national identity.[78] In 1862, the *Art Journal* argued that Hogarth was 'essentially English both by the character of his subjects and in the singular independence of his genius'.[79] This exemplifies Mark Hallett's argument that Victorian viewers 'idealised [Hogarth] as a patriotic and benevolent bourgeois painter whose suspicion of the aristocratic and the foreign was entirely legitimate'.[80] Works such as William Powell Frith's *Hogarth Brought Before the Governor of Calais as a Spy* (fig. 10) demonstrate Hogarth's transformation into a plucky 'rosbif' facing down the French.[81]

In later scholarship, Hogarth's allusions to 'the foolish parade of the French Academy' are often quoted in support of this vision.[82] Nikolaus Pevsner encapsulated this when, in 1955, he wrote: 'of the Englishness of Hogarth there can be no doubt. Time and again he has gone out of his way to parade it'.[83] Conversely, I build on the recent work on Hogarth and France undertaken by Simon, Cheetham and, before them, Antal, looking at Hogarth in juxtaposition with Watteau, an artist whose own identity is more complicated than Hogarth's, but whose appropriation as a national figurehead has been no less marked.[84] In putting Hogarth alongside Watteau, and in the resultant context of contemporaneous Anglo-

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[78] See David A. Brewer, 'Making Hogarth Heritage', *Representations*, 72 (Autumn, 2000), 21-63.

[79] [Anonymous], 'International Exhibition 1862: Pictures of the British School', *Art Journal*, July 1862, pp.149-52 (p.149).

[80] Hallett, *Hogarth*, p.321.

[81] For Hogarth's influence on Frith and 'The Clique', see Paul Barlow, '"The Backside of Nature": The Clique, Hogarthianism and the Problem of Style in Victorian Painting' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1989); David Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), pp.26-7; Christopher Wood, *William Powell Frith: A Painter and his World* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2006), pp.112, 170-71 and Mary Cowling, *Victorian Figurative Painting: Domestic Life and the Contemporary Social Scene* (London: Andreas Papadakis, 2000), esp. pp.13-14, 89.

[82] *Anecdotes*, ed. Nichols, p.25.

[83] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955), p.20.

[84] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*.

French exchange, I want to continue to problematise the perception that he was 'essentially English', while also addressing broader issues of eighteenth-century national identity.

Unlike the 'Britophil' Hogarth, Watteau's relationship to his national 'school' was ambiguous from the outset. He was born shortly after the cessation of the Franco-Dutch War (1672-78), as a result of which the Dutch had ceded his birthplace, the border town Valenciennes, to Louis XIV. After growing up in a town that only became French six years before his birth, Watteau appeared as 'Wateau [sic] peintre flamand' in a 1726 epitaph by Claude-François Fraguier published in the *Mercure de France*.[85] However, his work was seized upon in the nineteenth century by French writers and scholars such as the Goncourts, who claimed him as an artist speaking to French history. In *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, the Goncourts described Watteau as an artist whose works expressed the sadness of a French world forever lost; his paintings representing 'les jouets d'un enfant malade'.[86] This reading was characteristic of the circle centred on Paris's Rue du Doyenné, who saw in Watteau's work (says Norbert Elias) 'a dream to counter the sobering grey routines of their bourgeois society', rooted in 'the pre-Revolutionary France of the eighteenth century […] not entirely without thoughts of a possible political restoration'.[87] Watteau's paintings could be adapted to the vision offered by

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[85] Posner, *Watteau*, p.13. Claude-François Fraguier's 'Epitaphe de Wateau peintre flamand' appears in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.19.

[86] Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, I., p.11.

[87] Norbert Elias, 'Watteau's *Pilgrimage to the Island of Love'* in *Mozart and Other Essays on Courtly Art* (*The Complete Works of Norbert Elias),* ed. Eric Baker and Stephen Mennell, 18 vols (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 2010), XII, pp.31-53 (p.45). For the Goncourts' nostalgia for the eighteenth century, see Jennifer Forrest, 'Nineteenth-century Nostalgia for Eighteenth-century Wit, Style and Aesthetic Disengagement: the Goncourt Brothers' Histories of Eighteenth-century Art and Women', *Nineteenth-century French Studies*, 34, 1-2 (Fall - Winter, 2005-6), 44-62, and, for the nineteenth-century interest in the rococo: Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989), esp. pp.17-39 and pp.142-61; Elizabeth Mansfield, 'Rococo Republicanism', in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, ed. Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), pp.53-69.

the 1793 engraving, *L'Âge d'or, l'âge de fer* (fig. 11), which contrasts the idyllic grounds of a rural chateau with an urbanised, dystopian (post-)Revolutionary landscape.[88]

However, these attempts to sequester Hogarth and Watteau within specifically national contexts do not always align with what we know of their own outlooks, and of the context of the period. On a personal level, Hogarth's visits to France in 1743 and 1748, and Watteau's journey to London in 1719-20, demonstrate each of them engaging with the cultural context of the other. Nationally, the relationship between Britain and France during this period was similarly marked both by border-drawing and border-crossing. The two nations spent most of the eighteenth century at war, a circumstance that allowed certain currents of xenophobic nationalism to flourish. However, both countries also demonstrated, respectively, tendencies towards both 'Anglophilia' and 'Francophilia'.

Anglo-French relationships, 1684-1763

The seven Anglo-French wars of 1689-1815 have together been dubbed 'the Second Hundred Years War'.[89] Already long-established rivals in religion, England (later Britain) and France were increasingly in dispute over trade, reflecting their respective struggles for European dominance.[90] These wars affected both Hogarth and Watteau personally. Watteau's familiarity with military exercise in his hometown is suggested by *The Portal of Valenciennes* (fig. 12) and similar works have led Hal Opperman to argue that 'the notion of peace was dear to

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[88] This engraving, derived from La Fontaine's 'Les Grenouilles qui demandent un roi' is discussed by Bindman, 'How the French Became Frogs', p.20.

[89] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print 1600-1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p.13.

[90] Robert Gibson, *Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations since the Norman Conquest*, 2nd edn (Exeter: Impress Books, 2004), p.87.

Watteau and one of the foundations of his world view'.[91] Although, conversely, Hogarth reached maturity during a period of Anglo-French peace, his interactions with France were still marked by conflict. The 1740-48 war was ongoing when he went to Paris in 1743, and marred his plan to recruit French engravers for *Marriage à la Mode*.[92] Vertue wrote that his return to France five years later was decided 'upon the treaty of peace & preliminarys agreed', though his arrest at Calais indicates that this peace was not yet secure.[93] Hogarth died two years after the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-63), in which context he produced *The Invasion*, showing cross-Channel military preparations (figs. 13-14).

This bellicose political environment, combined with strong currents of English nationalism, allowed English 'Francophobia' to flourish. In 1725, the Swiss writer Béat de Muralt (1665-1749) observed that the English 'ont une forte prévention pour l'excellence de leur nation, et cette prévention influe dans leurs discours et dans leurs manières'.[94] The French were a particular object of dislike: 'l'injure la plus ordinaire, et selon eux, la plus forte, c'est *French Dog*'.[95] In 1745, the year of 'Rule Britannia', 'God Save the King' and the final French-backed Jacobite rebellion, the Laudable Association of Anti-Gallicans was formed in London, aiming to break French dominance of the luxury goods market, with exactly this kind of patriotic focus.[96]

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[91] See Edgar Munhall, 'Notes on Watteau's "Portal of Valenciennes"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 134:1066 (January, 1992), 4-11; Hal Opperman, 'The Theme of Peace in Watteau', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, pp.23-28 (p.23).

[92] Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.36-41.

[93] Vertue Note Books, III, p.141.

[94] [Béat de Muralt], *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* (Cologne, 1725; repr. Paris: Librairie le Soudier, 1897), p.3.

[95] [De Muralt], *Lettres…*, p.48.

[96] See D. G. C. Allan, 'The Laudable Association of Antigallicans', *RSA Journal,* 137:5398 (September, 1989), 623-28.

French 'Anglophobia' also existed: cross-Channel hostility is visible in Louis de Boissy's play *Le Français à Londres* (1727) and in Pierre de Marivaux's (1688-1763) *L'Île de la raison* of the same year, while André Boureau Deslandes's 1717 *Nouveau voyage d'Angleterre* characterised the English as culturally inferior: 'inconstans par goût, & legers par reflexion'.[97] However, in general, this was less virulent and pervasive than English 'Francophobia'; partly because of a less liberated satiric print culture at this period, and partly as a result of a different kind of patriotism.[98] As David Bell argues, unlike their cross-Channel counterparts, 'the French did not define themselves primarily by "othering" foreigners'.[99] Indeed many, though by no means all, of those publications that did follow this approach, such as Montesquieu's (1689-1755) *Lettres persanes* (1721) and Voltaire's (1694-1778) *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), published in English as *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733), conversely aimed, as René Pomeau writes of Voltaire, 'd'être utile à son pays […de] proposer à ses compatriotes des modèles anglais dont ils puissent tirer profit', reflecting on their own nation as much as on the 'other'.[100]

Indeed, conversely, by 1757, French 'anglophilia' had acquired the pejorative designation, 'l'anglomanie', satirised by, among others, Jean-Louis Fougeret de Montbron (?

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[97] [André Boureau Deslandes], *État present d'Espagne l'origine des Grands; avec un Voyage d'Angleterre* (Villefranche: Chez Étienne le Vray, 1717), p.232.

[98] See Ling, *Vive la Différence!*; for English abuse of foreigners, see Duffy, *Englishman and Foreigner*, p.14.

[99] David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), p.44.

[100] René Pomeau, 'Les "Lettres philosophiques": le project de Voltaire', *SVEC*, 179:1979 (1979), 11-24 (p.14). For Voltaire's position 'in two languages and in two cultures', see Nicholas Cronk, 'The "Letters Concerning the English Nation" as an English work: Reconsidering the Harcourt Brown Thesis', *SVEC*, 2001:10 (2001), 226-39. For the 'eyes of the other' trope in eighteenth-century French literature, see Sylvie Romanowski, *Through Strangers' Eyes: Fictional Foreigners in Old Regime France* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005) and John Leigh, *The Search for Enlightenment: An Introduction to Eighteenth-century French Writing* (London: Duckworth, 1999), pp.83-103.

1704-61). Though often dated to the post-war period starting c.1748-50, 'Anglomania' can be loosely linked both to Voltaire, and to those of his contemporaries, such as the abbé Prévost (1697-1763) and Montesquieu, who spent time in London.[101] Prévost was in London from 1728-32; Montesquieu's 1729 journey was sponsored by the English Francophile Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), who also redesigned Chesterfield House 'à la Françoise'.[102] Broader French interests in English intellectual culture were facilitated by Denis Diderot's (1713-84) translations of the writings of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) in 1745, and Prévost's rendering of Samuel Richardson's (1689-1761) *Clarissa* (1747-48).[103] Stefanie Stockhorst numbers the eighteenth-century translations from English to French at almost 500.[104]

As these examples already suggest, it is also possible to overstate eighteenth-century English 'Francophobia'. A decade after the formation of the Association of Anti-Gallicans, British consumers were still importing French luxury goods *en masse*, as illustrated by Louis-Philippe Boitard's (fl.1733-67) satirical print *The Imports of Great Britain from France* (1757). Publications like James Beeverell's (fl.1707-27) 1707 guidebook *Les Délices de la Grand Bretagne* flourished as part of a cross-Channel tourist trade, accompanied by guidebooks and bilingual topographical engravings, which 'underwent an enormous expansion' during the

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[101] Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985), pp.7-9.

[102] Gibson, *Best of Enemies*, pp.80-81, 86-87; H. Avray Tipping, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair.—I, A Residence of Viscount Lascelles', *Country Life*, LI (25 February, 1922), 235-42 (p.237). See also Roger White, 'Isaac Ware and Chesterfield House', in *Rococo*, ed. Hind, pp.175-92.

[103] Grieder, *Anglomania in France*, p.3. On Prévost and Richardson, see Thomas Beebee, '*Clarissa' on the Continent: Translation and Seduction* (University Press, PA; London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), pp. 1-24. For French translations from English, see Charles Alfred Rochedieu, *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works, 1700-1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp.312-15.

[104] *Cultural Transfer Through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst (Amsterdam; New York: Rodophi, 2010), p.15.

eighteenth century.[105] In a period when '[t]ravels [we]re look'd upon as one of the greatest Accomplishments of our Nobility and Gentry', though Italy remained the ultimate destination for English *milordi*, most lingered in France on the way out or back, 'as French literature and manners came to set the standard for the rest of Europe'.[106]

These models of Anglo-French cultural exchange were underpinned in the century's early years by the affection felt for England by major French figures. Characterising the English as a 'nation of philosophers', Voltaire became (writes Gerald Newman), 'the foremost exponent and interpreter of English ideas and taste' in France, but also '[by] far the most conspicuous and eminent representative of French culture' in Britain.[107] However, another key factor in such international exchange was class, aristocrats on both sides of the Channel generally being considered less xenophobic than the lower classes.[108] Newman highlights how, for the English aristocracy, cultural superiority was 'woven from participation in a cosmopolitan and recognisably Gallic international culture which transcended the nation-state'.[109] For Linda Colley, meanwhile, 'there was […] a marked divergence between [aristocratic] men's political responses and their cultural tastes', with 'French tailoring, French cooks and servants, French actors […and] the French fine arts' all *de rigueur* for British aristocrats.[110] This suggests a tension between geographic borders, and the cosmopolitan allegiances of class or culture formed across them.

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[105] Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), p.22.

[106] [Anonymous], 'The Translator's Preface' in [Béat de Muralt], *Letters describing the Character and Customs of the English and French Nations…* (London: Thomas Eldin, 1726), p.vi; Gibson, *Best of Enemies*, p.69.

[107] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), p.2.

[108] Duffy, *Englishman and the Foreigner*, p.14.

[109] Newman, *Rise of English Nationalism*, p.39.

[110] Linda Colley, 'The English Rococo: Historical Background', in *Rococo*, ed. Snodin, pp.10-17 (p.15).

The reception of both Hogarth and Watteau sits in this cross-Channel context. British collectors seized on Watteau's work with alacrity, and, in 1746, André Rouquet's (1701-58) *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un de ses amis à Paris pour lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth* also attempted to 'sell' Hogarth to a French market. Rouquet noted that; '[n]os mœurs sont en général si différentes de celles des Anglois, qu'il n'est pas surprenant que les Estampes de Monsieur HOGARTH vous ayent paru avoir besoin d'explication'.[111] This acknowledgement of barriers is offset by Rouquet's determination to surmount them, offering an 'explication' that would allow French readers to see 'ce qu'un Anglois lit, pour ainsi dire, en jettant les yeux sur ces Estampes'.[112] His offer to French audiences of English 'eyes' with which to read can be compared not only with the satirical function of Voltaire's *Lettres* and Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, but also the Abbé le Blanc's *Letters on the French and English Nations* (1745). The English translator of De Muralt's *Letters*, in 1726, explained this proliferation: 'People are seldom disengag'd enough from Prepossession, to see the faults of their own Nation; for which Reason that Task ought always to be reserv'd for others'.[113]

Here emerges a sense both of antagonism and attraction, the former periodically crossing into warfare; the latter bolstered by a network of intellectual, artistic and cultural cross-Channel interactions—many class inflected. Indeed, in their discussion of the novel, Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever have argued that 'the Channel zone could perpetuate a

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[111] [André Rouquet], *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un de ses amis à Paris pour lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth* (London: R. Dodsley, 1746), p.1.

[112] Rouquet, *Lettres*, p.1. See also Patricia Mainardi, 'Hogarth "Corrected": Modern Moral Subjects in France', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Cynthia Ellen Roman (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.143-161 and Michel Polge, 'William Hogarth: sa réception par les français au XVIII^{e} siècle, apprécié à partir des périodiques de ce temps', *The British Art Journal*, VII:2 (Autumn, 2006), 12-23.

[113] 'The Translator's Preface', [De Muralt], *Letters…*, p.vi.

vibrant transnational culture in a climate of intense political hostility'.[114] Hogarth and Watteau sit within this context, and it is clear, from the English enthusiasm for Watteau, and Rouquet's attempt to 'translate' Hogarth into French, that each was perceived within that milieu in the eighteenth century. This milieu is similarly central to this thesis, which reads Watteau and Hogarth in the context of these cross-Channel relationships. However, I also pursue the assertion of Béat de Muralt's translator that 'People are seldom disengag'd enough from Prepossession'. By looking at a British artist alongside a French one, I extend the parameters usually understood to define each, placing them within an eighteenth-century Anglo-French network. This means looking again at their traditional identifications as, respectively, a thoroughly representative and 'characteristic' British (or English) artist, and a thoroughly representative and 'characteristic' French one. By problematising these ideas of national identity, we can look at these much-studied artists afresh.

My choice of Watteau and Hogarth thus arises from several factors. First, their respective status within the early eighteenth-century art world. Second, their mutual association with national identity, raising broader questions of cross-Channel relationships between 1684-1764. The second also prompts my third area of interest. Most of the French 'fine arts' purchased by English aristocrats were in the fashionable 'rococo' style, enthusiastically adopted by, among others, Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-51).[115] The rococo would also become a popular style in English book illustration, as practised by three members of Hogarth's circle: Gravelot, a Frenchman in London, and the Englishmen Joseph Highmore

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[114] Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever, 'Introduction', in *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, ed. Cohen and Dever (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp.1-34 (p.13).

[115] On the rococo in Britain, see *Rococo*, ed. Snodin, esp. Colley, 'The English Rococo', pp.10-17 and Patricia Crown, 'British Rococo as Social and Political Style', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 23:3 (Spring, 1990), 269-82. Crown and Colley dispute Mark Girouard's argument that the English rococo was an 'opposition style'; Girouard, 'Coffee at Slaughter's: English Art and the Rococo - 1', *Country Life*, CXXXIX (13 January, 1966), pp.58-61.

(1692-1780) and Hayman.[116] Discussions of the rococo often highlight eroticism; with an implicit nod to Watteau, Hugh Honour alludes to its 'hedonistic and licentious overtones, its fêtes galantes and scenes of casual dalliance suggestive of the boudoir'.[117] This aesthetic import from France to Britain is therefore couched in terms of seduction, identifiable both in the subjects it depicts and in its 'hedonistic' visual appeal.

Beyond their mutual association with the rococo style, seduction was a rich subject for Watteau and Hogarth in its own right, so seduction, and its implications in both France and England, is the lens through which I view them both. Watteau's *fêtes galantes* often focus on courtship activities such as music-making and dancing, but, as Nicholas Mirzoeff highlights, his paintings are often considered seductive in themselves.[118] For the Goncourt brothers, they had '[t]outes les séductions de la femme', while Louis Fourcaud described Watteau's paintings as 'séduisantes apparitions'.[119] By contrast, Hogarth's 'seductions' are more closely connected to the etymological meaning of 'seduce' or 'séduire', to 'lead astray', via the addition of the 'se-' prefix to 'ducere' ('to lead').[120] For Paulson, Hogarth's 'progress' format follows the structure of the 'lives of the Apostles, which began with conversions'.[121]

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[116] See T. C. Duncan Eaves, 'Graphic Illustration of the Novels of Samuel Richardson, 1740-1810', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 14:4 (August, 1951), 349-83 and Robert Halsband, 'The Rococo in England: Book Illustrators, Mainly Gravelot and Bentley', *The Burlington Magazine*, 127:993 (December, 1985), 870+872-80. On illustrations of *Pamela*, see Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, '*Pamela' in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp, pp.143-76.

[117] Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.19.

[118] Nicholas Mirzoeff, 'The Flickers of Seduction: The Ambivalent and Surprising Painting of Watteau', in *Watteau*, ed. Sheriff, pp.123-32 (p.123).

[119] Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, I. p.4; Louis D. Fourcaud, 'Antoine Watteau: Scènes et figures théâtrales', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XV (January - June, 1904), 135-50 (p.140).

[120] Beebee, '*Clarissa' on the Continent*, pp.2-3.

[121] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., pp.285-87.

'Conversion' ('turning in position, direction, destination') might be replaced with 'seduction', implying a sexual, as well as a 'moral' change in direction and foregrounding the idea of a 'progress', or path, as well as the role of the seducer.[122] The final section of this Introduction establishes the term's parameters, pulling out its implications for my subsequent chapters.

Seduction in France and Britain

While perhaps most readily understood by a twenty-first century reader in a sexual context, eighteenth-century seduction also touched morality, philosophy and politics. As suggested above, it is also implicated the 'rococo' style itself. This thesis addresses it both as a sexually-inflected 'practical' activity and in broader terms, while also arguing that a distinction between the two is difficult to maintain. Seduction always crystallises around issues of agency and power, morality, and gender. It often also implies a distinction between exterior 'show' and interior 'substance', the former assumed to mask a deficiency or absence in the latter. Each will be explored in detail throughout this thesis.

Though French and English attitudes to seduction varied, the French 'séduire' and the English 'seduce' have a common Latinate ancestor, literally meaning 'to lead aside or away'. In both languages, seduction therefore describes the effect of one person on another, implying a progress or path along which one is led, or from which one is distracted. However, whereas the 'seduced' wanders onto another (literal or metaphorical) path, early definitions are vague about what a 'seducer' does. The 1694 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defines 'séduire' as 'tromper, abuser, faire tomber dans l'erreur', while the earliest

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[122] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], "Conversion, n.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/77468?rskey=Zm7o6F&result=1&isAdvanced=false [accessed 3 February, 2017], I.

meaning given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is '[t]o persuade (a vassal, servant, soldier, etc.) to desert his allegiance or service'.[123]

To 'seduce' someone is not, then, to carry out a clearly defined action, but rather, either by deception ('tromper') or 'persuasion', to prompt an action or belief in another person. This apparently self-effacing quality is in contrast to the 'active' stratagems of literary seducers such as the Vicomte de Valmont, protagonist of Pierre Choderlos de Laclos's (1741-1803) *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782) or Richardson's Robert Lovelace, both of whom, for Ann Van Sant, align 'sexual cruelty and investigation'.[124] However, grammatically (at least) a successful seduction makes the formerly passive 'seduced', not the seducer, the active agent. Their action is comparatively clearer: they are brought 'to desert [previously owed] allegiance' and 'tomber dans l'erreur'.

The specific actions mentioned—desertion, falling into error— highlight the importance to seduction of morality, the first issue considered here. In eighteenth-century England, problems of morality were closely intertwined with issues of sexuality, as was (arguably) less clearly the case on the other side of the Channel; Thomas Kavanagh, conversely, describing early eighteenth-century France as characterised by a 'universal currency' of 'pleasure', 'whose exchange could both define the self and bind together society'.[125] Loosely based on the seventeenth-century philosophy of neo-Epicureanism, this 'currency of pleasure' was anticipated by figures such as Théophile de Viau (1590-1627), Vauquelin de Yvereaux (1567-1649) and Jacques Vallée des Barreaux (1599-1673), but arguably stems back as far as

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[123] 'séduire', *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694, *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago), http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=s%C3%A9duire [accessed 10 February 2017]; *OED* [online], 'seduce, v.', 1.

[124] Ann Jessie Van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility and the Novel: The senses in social context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.64-65.

[125] Thomas Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures: Eighteenth-century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010), p.2.

Michel de Montaigne (1533-92).[126] Many English aristocrats, notably John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (1647-80), encountered these ideas directly during the English Interregnum, when Charles II (1630-85) was in exile in France, and, after the Restoration, became famed as rakes and serial seducers.[127] However, these English figures are also often perceived to demonstrate a competing moral anxiety, arguably rooted in Protestantism, and combined with a generalised insecurity borne of the events of 1649.[128] Though it would be inaccurate to suggest that France had an unproblematically positive view of sexuality, this specific context of English libertinism has been seen as intrinsically nostalgic, and intrinsically anxious, defining itself against the mores of an earlier, vanishing, era.[129]

It is therefore unsurprising to find many of the most developed eighteenth-century English examinations of sexual seduction in the comparatively condemnatory (and explicitly sexualised) context of literature. Among the most influential texts of the period were Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1702), Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa*, and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766). All take sexual seduction as their subject. All, more or less, adhere to the same narrative pattern: a woman's deception by a (usually) upper-class

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[126] On the philosophical underpinnings of Neo-Epicureanism, see Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures*, pp.1-9 and Christopher Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph Over Reason: A History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.269-73.

[127] For the English response to Neo-Epicureanism, see Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, pp.274-79.

[128] Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, pp.286-301. James Grantham Turner addresses the eighteenth-century rake's Restoration origins in 'Lovelace and the Paradoxes of Libertinism', in *Samuel Richardson: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.70-88.

[129] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), pp.14-17 (p.15). A similar story is told by Erin Mackie, 'Boys Will Be Boys: Masculinity, Criminality, and the Restoration Rake', *The Eighteenth* Century, 46:2 (Summer, 2005), 129-49 (p.131), and R. F. Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade* (London; Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1974), pp.86-87. For the Earl of Rochester, see Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, and James William Johnson, *A Profane Wit: The Life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

man. These texts, many written and received in a bourgeois, city-based context, therefore prioritise seduction as an activity taking place between men and women, and link it imaginatively with the aristocracy. Their urban middle-class origins may explain such texts' general suspicion and condemnation of their upper-class seducers.[130] Indeed, *Clarissa* implies a specific memory of the aristocratic Rochester: Lovelace quotes Rochester's most famous poem, 'Upon Nothing' (c.1678) in his very first letter.[131]

As a result of this emphasis, these texts usually accord as much, if not more, imaginative status to the seduced—a paradigm of 'virtue in distress' with a peculiar sentimental force—as to the seducer.[132] Though same-sex seduction was also a subject of anxiety during this period, these examples prioritise seduction as a male-female interaction.[133] This is also the tendency of Watteau, and of Hogarth, and therefore forms the primary focus of the present thesis. However, it is equally clear that seduction's address to morality intersects with its equally forcible address to broader issues of sex and gender, and reports such as that carried by the *Ipswich Journal* for December 1726, that one James Williams had 'address[ed] himself to […a] Youth, pretend[ing] that he knew his Friends, and had a great Kindness for him', with intent to perpetrate 'the abominable Crime' of sodomy, suggest that the model of (feminised) 'virtue in distress' could be applied to same-sex relationships too.[134]

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[130] Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress*, p.84. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp.3-55, provides the definitive description of this context.

[131] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa; or, the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross, rev. edn ([1747-8] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), p.142.

[132] The classic discussion is Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress*, esp. pp.67-94. The sadistic undertones of this fascination are discussed by Van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility*, esp. pp.60-82.

[133] For a bibliography on homosexuality during this period, see Tim Hitchcock, 'Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (Spring, 1996), 72-90 (pp.84-85) and for a discussion of these issues in France, see Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), pp.145-69.

[134] *Ipswich Journal*, Saturday 10 December, 1726, 3.

Nonetheless, although, as the title of *The Fair Penitent* suggests, a focus on the 'seduced maiden' did not preclude an enduring titillation for an imagined male audience, as Susan Staves writes, '[t]o understand the fascination of the pathetic seduced maiden for the eighteenth century [...] would be to understand something of the differentiating characteristics of eighteenth-century [English] culture'.[135] Even so, many of these texts were enthusiastically received across the Channel: Lovelace is cited as an inspiration by Laclos's Vicomte de Valmont.[136] So while I continue to focus on English texts in the remainder of this discussion of sexual morality, this is in response to the particular dominance of the motif in England, and is not intended to suggest that none of these concerns were shared in France.

As suggested by Staves's past participle ('seduced maiden'), many of the texts mentioned focused on the implied contrast between the 'seduced' maiden's sexual fall and her innocent past. Sexual seduction is therefore understood through narrative, in which context it additionally implicates time. There is both a contrast between 'before' and 'after', and an emphasis on the seducer's slow *process* of persuasion, or trickery (exemplified in the voluminous *Clarissa*). Such seduction stories therefore highlight both the seducer's conscious deceptiveness and the fatal effects of his success. These ideas were encapsulated in England in the 1758 formation of the London Magdalen Hospital, in Goodman's Fields, as a kind of

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[135] Susan Staves, 'British Seduced Maidens', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 14:2 (Winter, 1980-1), 109-34 (p.109).

[136] Choderlos de Laclos, *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, ed. André Malraux and Joël Papadopoulos ([1782] Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1972), p.315.

'Protestant nunnery' for 'reformed' prostitutes.[137] Emerging from an 'energetic pamphlet debate' on prostitution, the Hospital produced a significant body of literature, authorised and independent, factual and fictional.[138] Every Sunday, its vicar, William Dodd (1729-77), read out descriptions of the events that had led the charity's beneficiaries to its doors; versions of the tales of *The Fair Penitent*'s Calista, and *Clarissa* that, similarly, contrasted an innocent 'before' with a fallen 'after'. The emphasis, writes Sarah Lloyd, was on linking female vulnerability 'to the ancestral fall of Eve and man's subsequent endeavours to ensnare and corrupt her'.[139] Indeed, part of these narratives' effectiveness must have been their adherence to this established seduction template: the 'pathetic seduced maiden' and her deceptive seducer.

However, the Hospital's engagement with the issue of agency and 'blame' in sexual seduction also raises the distinction between 'seduction' and rape, an important one for *Clarissa*, which, despite Lovelace's efforts, is ultimately about sexual violence, not sexual seduction. If the action a 'seducer' brings about is (sexual) 'consent', what is the nature of the auxiliary action s/he deploys to this end, and would any action make that 'consent'

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[137] Sarah Lloyd, '"Pleasure's Golden Bait": Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (Spring, 1996), 50-70 (p.62). On the Magdalen Hospital, see also Mary Peace, *Changing Sentiments and the Magdalen Hospital: Luxury, Virtue and the Senses in Eighteenth-century Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); Van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility*, pp.16-44; Peace, 'Figuring the London Magdalen House: Mercantilist Hospital, Sentimental Asylum or Proto-Evangelical Penitentiary?' in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Ann Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012; Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.141-55, pp.141-55 and Jennie Batchelor, 'Mothers and Others: Sexuality and Maternity in the "Histories of some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House" (1760)', in ibid., pp.157-69; Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York; London: The Guildford Press, 1998), pp.39-73; Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.160-89.

[138] [Anonymous], *The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen House…*, ed. Jennie Batchelor and Megan Hiatt ([1760] London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), pp.ix-xxiii (x); Ellis, *Politics of Sensibility*, p.178.

[139] Lloyd, '"Pleasure's Golden Bait"', p.62.

invalid?[140] The crux of the issue is psychology, rape itself 'focusing attention on mental states' as a result of hinging not on the fact of sexual intercourse, but on whether the victim consented to it or not.[141] Extrapolating from this, Frances Ferguson has argued that rape and contemporaneous understandings of rape are crucial in understanding the emergence of the early eighteenth-century British 'psychological novel'.[142] Going further, I would argue that this discussion implicates the full spectrum of sexual interactions.

However, just as these issues depend on ideas of governance and agency, and—as with the Magdalen Hospital—blame, so too the relative positions of 'seducer' and 'seduced' reveal themselves to have been malleable for many eighteenth-century writers. This often implicates gender. Though I have focused on the 'seduced maiden' and villainous (male) aristocrat, the roles could be easily reversed—and, indeed, as I have suggested, in the case of same-sex relationships the implied gender roles might be merely metaphorical.[143] In 1741, Henry Fielding's (1707-54) *Shamela* and Eliza Haywood's (c.1693-1756) *The Anti-Pamela; or, Feign'd Innocence Detected* rewrote Richardson's *Pamela* to make the heroine the seducer, denying Mr B. a sexual relationship in pursuit of a socially advantageous marriage. The dis-

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[140] See, for example, Anna K. Clark, 'Rape or Seduction? A Controversy over Sexual Violence in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Sexual Dynamics of History: Men's Power, Women's Resistance*, ed. The London Feminist History Group (London: London Feminist History Group Book Collective, 1983), pp.13-27. This can be compared with Catharine MacKinnon's suggestion in *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) that, while relationships between men and women are constituted under conditions of domination and subordination, heterosexual relationships cannot be consensual. For a discussion, see David Archard, *Sexual Consent* (Boulder, Colorado; Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), pp.84-90.

[141] Frances Ferguson, 'Rape and the Rise of the Novel', *Representations*, 20 (Autumn, 1987), 88-112 (p.88). On the prominence of psychology in rape trials, see Jennifer Temkin, 'Women, Rape and Law Reform', in *Rape: A Historical and Social Enquiry*, ed. Sylvana Tomaselli and Roy Porter (Padstow: T. J. Press, 1986), pp.16-40, and in discussions of rape generally, John Forrester, 'Rape, Seduction and Psychoanalysis', in ibid., pp.57-83

[142] Ferguson, 'Rape and the Rise of the Novel', pp.98-99.

[143] For these issues applied to the 'coquette', see Gillian Brown, 'Consent, Coquetry, and Consequences', *American Literary History*, 9:4 (Winter, 1997), 625-52.

tinction between seduction and marriage, the triumph of Mr. B. and of Pamela, highlights the implicit assumption from such writers that when men and women encounter each other in courtship, they do so with opposing desires. The man seeks a transient sexual encounter; the (unmarried) woman wants to formalise any sexual interaction within the permanent binding structure of marriage. 'If I can have [Clarissa] *without* [marriage], who can blame me for trying?' asks Lovelace; 'if *not,* great will be her glory'.[144] This formulation couches his desires and those he attributes to Clarissa as equal, and incompatible. Though social mechanisms, such as courtship, may channel such opposing desires, and allow for their negotiation, their existence implies that one must ultimately be subordinated to the other.

As I show particularly in Chapter Four, which considers 'legitimate' forms of seduction, such as window-shopping, this motif of a struggle between (largely) equal adversaries can also be applied to seduction in less explicitly sexualised contexts, similarly rendering interchangeable the relative positions of seducer and seduced. However, in their address to sexuality the examples cited above explicitly foreground issues of class, gender and governance in their central question: where does true power lie? The cynical assumption of Fielding and Haywood is that, far from being the all-powerful seducer, the aristocratic Mr. B. is induced by the novel's ostensible 'seduced maiden' to prioritise his sexual desires over his rational mind. While his class position dictates that a lady-in-waiting is not a suitable wife, he allows a coquettish woman to persuade him otherwise.

Indeed, Fielding's and Haywood's re-readings of *Pamela* highlight seduction's broader relationship to ideas about power. The seduced is seduced away from something (or someone) else. Though, in the case of *Shamela*, the seduced is re-imagined as a man overcome by a woman, seduction was more usually conceptualised in patriarchal terms, as the 'seduced maiden' trope suggests. The 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* illustrates this in

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[144] Richardson, *Clarissa*, p.431.

its definition for 'séduire' as: 'séduire des témoins, séduire des domestiques […] pour les faire parler contre leur maistre' and 'cette fille se laissa séduire sous pretexte de mariage'.[145] Here, 'seduction' involves not just seducer and seduced, but also a shadowy third figure, implicitly male, in a position of familial or political power: master; husband; father; monarch. In some instances, seduction is even a means of waging proxy war upon this figure, as implied by 'les faire parler contre leur maistre'. Thus, Valmont's seduction of Cécile in Laclos's novel arises from the marquise de Merteuil's desire to take revenge on Cécile's fiancé.

As I have suggested, *Shamela*'s equivalent third party is not a specific figure, but a social order: Mr. B.'s class allegiance and its prescriptions around sex and marriage. This highlights how easily ideas of sexual seduction could slide into broader (non-sexual) issues of political power. In 1716, Joseph Addison referred to those who might make oaths of loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, but be 'afterwards seduced to the Violation of [them]', in a formulation that effaces sexuality in favour of emphasising 'seduction' as a political act.[146] Such 'seducers' might have no sexual ambitions, but aim to convert their victim from one affiliation to another. However, even though issues of sexual desire have receded into the background, questions of (sexual) morality endure, hinging on structural issues of allegiance and desertion. For Addison, just as for Valmont, Merteuil through him, and even (arguably) Shamela, seduction represents an attack on a figure of (patriarchal) power, or of establishment orthodoxy, rather than on the putative object.

In this context, far from being merely a private action between individuals, (sexual) seduction could be considered a politically subversive act, which, if carried out at scale, might threaten whole systems or orders. The Magdalen Hospital exemplified this fear. Its

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[145] 'séduire', *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française,* 1694.

[146] Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder*, No. 6 (Monday 9 January 1716), in *Political Essays* (London: D. Midwinter and J. Tonson, 1716), pp.30-37 (p.31).

existence was predicated on the idea that, as one of its key founders, Jonas Hanway, put it: 'if you can *check* libertinism, you will not only prevent great *misery*, but also great *confusion* among the lower classes of the people: and […] in proportion as you lessen the number of *prostitutes*, it may be presumed that the number of *marriages* will increase, as well as the number of souls saved'.[147] While focusing on sexuality, Hanway's argument shows seduction's implications to range from political and social unrest up to religious salvation.

There is an easy slippage here between sexual and political transgressions and, indeed, while Addison is alluding to seduction in a non-sexual context, the coexistence of the 'seduced maiden' trope allowed for ambiguities. While eighteenth-century women could be conceptualised as subjects in a (familial) commonwealth, this also worked the other way around. These ideas have been the subject of several recent studies, with Katherine Binhammer arguing that 'seduction narratives' provided a model of reading the 'semiotics of love' for young women finding their way in the developing context of companionate marriage.[148] Meanwhile, Toni Bowers has explored rape and seduction as viewed through eighteenth-century 'tory' anxieties about monarchical power after 1688 (a political context radically different from absolutist France).[149] Arguing that the question as to whether it was possible to resist or to submit to illegitimate authority virtuously was a 'tory' preoccupation, she suggests that such 'tories' used stories of rape and resistance to address these issues.[150] Looking to the

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147 [Jonas Hanway], *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen-House…* (London: Printed by James Waugh, 1758), pp.12-13.

148 Katherine Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.1.

149 Toni Bowers, *Force or Fraud? British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

150 Bowers, *Force or Fraud?*, p.11.

other side of the House, Julia Rudolph has similarly called attention to how Whig theorists used seduction stories to conceptualise *their* ideologies.[151]

Thus, while Binhammer emphasises how the 'seduced maiden' trope allowed women to interpret their relationships with husbands and fathers, Bowers and Rudolph argue that, in politics, those same husbands and fathers might use the 'seduced maiden' trope to conceptualise themselves. As Bowers highlights, this elides the distinction between lived experiences of sexual violence and those experiences' metaphorical applications to political contexts. However, many eighteenth-century commentators seem to have accepted such an elision. Seduction was therefore a uniquely useful means to consider broader ideas about the family, gender and politics. Though the moralistic landscape implied by the term's sexual meaning may have been a starting point for such questions, seduction could quickly metamorphose, extending far beyond the world of the literal 'seduced maiden'.

As I have suggested, France absorbed many of these ideas as part of its engagement with English culture. However, it had its own rich seam of literary seduction: Paul Young cites Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731), Crébillon *fils*'s *Les Égarements du coeur et de l'esprit* (1736-38) and Diderot's *Le Rêve d'Alembert* (1769) in support of his contention that '[t]o write, in eighteenth-century France, is to write under the sign of seduction'—though Prévost's text in particular underlines the French address to sexuality's darker side.[152] French seduction was also particularly strongly expressed through the visual arts. Courting couples appear in contemporary settings in paintings such as *The Garter* (fig. 93) by Jean-François de Troy (1679-1752). Boucher sets similar couples in utopian surroundings in paintings inspired by Watteau, including his

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[151] Julia Rudolph, 'Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-century English Legal and Political Thought', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:2 (April, 2000), 157-84.

[152] Paul J. Young, *Seducing the Eighteenth-century French Reader: Reading, Writing and the Question of Pleasure* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p.2. For a discussion of *Manon Lescaut*, and the deterioration of seductive pleasure, see Pierre Saint-Amand, *The Libertine's Progress: Seduction in the Eighteenth-century French Novel*, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (Hanover; London: Brown University Press, 1994), pp.35-49.

Pastoral with a Couple near a Fountain (1749, Wallace Collection, London), intended (as Jo Hedley writes) to 'create a highly sophisticated type of visual seduction, designed to please both the senses and the intellect'.[153] Meanwhile, the painting style of Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), as seen in *La Résistance inutile* (c.1770, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), was, writes Richard Rand, 'sometimes equated with moral laxity, a kind of painterly *libertinage*', in terms that imagine the artist almost as an actor within the seduction scenes he depicts.[154] Gersaint's own declaration that Watteau had been 'libertin d'esprit mais sage de mœurs' apparently attempts to forestall likely equivalent readings of the earlier painter.[155]

In contrast to the bourgeois moralistic context discussed in England, these painters and paintings are popularly associated with the fashionable rococo, as are Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736), Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743), Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766) and practitioners in the decorative arts.[156] With its 'tendency towards the abstraction of natural forms in which sibilant […] shapes predominate', the ebullient rococo is often said to have represented a reaction against the formality of the sunset court of Louis XIV.[157] Indeed, French examples were increasingly produced as small-scale commissions from private patrons, many belonging to what James

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[153] Jo Hedley *François Boucher: Seductive Visions* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2005), p.68. For Boucher and Watteau, see pp.27-31.

[154] Richard Rand, 'Love, Domesticity and the Evolution of Genre Painting in Eighteenth-century France', in *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-century France*, ed. Rand (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp.3-19 (p.10).

[155] Edmé-François Gersaint, 'Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau…' [1744], in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.29-44 (p.39). For a discussion of Gersaint's phrase, see François Moureau, 'Watteau libertin', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, pp.17-22.

[156] For the rococo and the artists associated with it, see Michael Schwarz, *The Age of the Rococo*, trans. Gerald Onn (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), esp. pp.10-32 and Erich Hubala, *Baroque and Rococo Art* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), pp.166-91.

[157] Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, p.11; Schwarz, *Age of the Rococo*, pp.10-11.

Leith describes as 'the amorous and decadent court aristocracy'.[158] Their erotic subjects therefore reflected wealthy private tastes; a French equivalent to the English tendency to associate seduction with the upper classes. In this case, rococo eroticism was linked with libertine men whose acquisitiveness included both art and sex; or with decadent aristocratic (and *arriviste*) women whose influence 'feminised' the arts. This last is encapsulated in Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson (1721-64), marquise de Pompadour from 1745. A patron of Boucher, she used the arts 'in her great patriotic task of continuing to amuse and seduce the King'.[159] At the same time, as Melissa Hyde has pointed out, many of these works also made conscious play with gender identity and sexuality.[160]

However, the rococo also emerged from French Academic debates of the 1670s, between the so-called 'Poussinistes' and 'Rubenistes', a much discussed controversy within which issues of seduction were prominent. Within the hierarchies of painting, 'Poussinistes'—notably Charles Le Brun (1619-90)—advocated for the primacy of line while 'Rubenistes' —such as Gabriel Blanchard (1630-1704) and Pierre Mignard (1612-95)—were for colour.[161] The crux of the debate was that, whereas 'Poussinistes' considered line a means for artists to represent 'the idea', and highlight the intellectual qualities of a painting, colour 'can only appeal to the senses, it has no form, it is not the essence of painting but […] falls into the realm of adornment'.[162] Duro highlights an implicitly moral dimension to this distinction drawn from a Cartesian mind-body dualism: line appeals to the intellect, colour to

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[158] James A. Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-1799* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p.6.

[159] Hedley, *François Boucher*, p.99.

[160] Hyde, *Making Up The Rococo*, p.148 and pp.205ff.

[161] Duro, *Academy and Limits*, p.212-13.

[162] Duro, *Academy and Limits*, p.213.

the senses.[163] If not intrinsically immoral, colour is at least potentially amoral, in contrast to the potentially edifying themes and histories offered by line. In 1690, the installation of Roger de Piles (1635-1709) as the Academy's *amateur honoraire* temporarily established the ascendency of the advocates of what De Piles called 'Coloris'.[164]

For De Piles, 'le Coloris est une des parties essentielles de la Peinture' as the means 'par laquelle le Peinture [sic] fait imiter les apparences des couleurs de tous les objets artificiels'. Colour was therefore the mechanism 'la plus avantageuse pour tromper la vûe', and the purpose of painting was, ultimately, 'de séduire nos yeux et de nous surprendre'.[165] 'Seduction' here (like 'tromper') describes an immediate physical reaction affecting the eyes, with the effect of creating a pleasurable illusion. As Thomas Puttfarken has argued, this illusion may not extend to total delusion, but De Piles differed from the 'Poussinistes' by insisting that painting need not be didactic, emphasising its immediate, seductive, appeal.[166]

By 1746, this idea had come under attack from Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne (1688-1771), who considered 'La Peinture de l'Histoire' the 'premier' form of painting, since: 'Le Peintre Historien est seul le Peintre de l'ame, les autres ne peignent que pour les ïeux'.[167] For De Piles, the 'seduction' of painting implied exactly this kind of distinction between an attractive 'surface' ('pour les ïeux') and a potentially negligible 'substance'. His ideas were

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[163] Duro, *Academy and Limits*, p.214. For Cartesian theory in the context of the 'new emotions', see Joan Dejean, *Ancients against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.78-123.

[164] For De Piles, see Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles's Theory of Art* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.42-50.

[165] Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Chez Jacques Estienne, 1708), pp.303, 453.

[166] Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles's Theory*, pp.51-53.

[167] Étienne La Font de Saint Yenne, *Reflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France* (Paris: La Haye, chez Jean Neaulme, 1747), p.8.

studied and applied by Boucher, whose work (writes Melissa Hyde) was characterised 'by a self-regarding insistence on its own materiality, on its declarative artificiality'.[168]

This dichotomy between mind and eye is often repeated in later descriptions of the rococo. John Hayes characterises the style as 'intimate, playful or erotic […] voluptuous in its appeal to the eye rather than the mind', while, for Stephen Jones, it focuses on 'immediate pleasure in the sound of the word or the complexity of the ornament.[169] In emphasising its 'immediacy', Jones echoes De Piles's suggestion that painting should aim to 'surprendre'. He also implies a distinction between the immediate appeal of an object's 'complexity', and its apparently empty 'substance'. It is an idea inherent in the contemporaneous pejorative term for the rococo: 'papillotage'. Deriving from 'papilloter', to 'flutter' or 'blink', 'papillotage' is described by Marian Hobson as a 'filigree of irritation created by formal or interpretative complexity' which 'implies a to-and-fro movement […] [f]or it expresses both the gaze, the acceptance of the object seen, and the blink which cuts off the eye from contact with the world and, in so doing, brings the self back to self'.[170]

The signs of papillotage 'insist on their own lack of meaning'; to be seduced by them is to be temporarily distracted from 'meaning', to focus on their surface. In the process, the seduced viewer is imagined to respond involuntarily, in an unelected (instinctual) response, rather than an active decision. 'Papillotage', like Jones's 'immediacy' thereby calls attention, once again, to time's role in effecting seduction. In this instance, the seductive element acts quickly upon the eye, before the rational mind can intervene. This can acquire moral implications, as it did in discussions on both sides of the Channel, about the illusory qualities of

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[168] Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo*, p.12.

[169] John Hayes, 'English Painting and the Rococo', *Apollo*, 90 (August, 1969), 114-25 (p.114); Stephen Jones, *The Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.10.

[170] Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.52.

theatre, a 'spectacle which [like de Piles's 'Coloris'] enthralled the eye but which did not enrich the mind'.[171] Addison highlighted this distinction when he noted in *The Spectator* that 'our Actors are very sensible, that a well-dress'd Play has sometimes brought them as full Audiences, as a well-written one'.[172] However, his criticism of showy emptiness could also apply to the actor himself, who manifested actions that he did not feel.

It is possible to draw certain conclusions from this discussion that will run throughout this thesis. Firstly, we can speak, cautiously, of a distinction between how seduction was understood in France and England. While, in the English tradition, the novelistic and philanthropic figure of the seduced maiden dominates, in France, the implications of seduction are explored more fully through the visual arts and art theory (as well as in literary contexts). Moreover, while French seduction was inflected by a broader 'currency of pleasure', English seduction seems to have been primarily viewed through the lens of Protestant, bourgeois morality (notwithstanding prurient titillation). At the same time, both 'types' of seduction were 'translated' and consumed by readers and connoisseurs on both sides of the Channel. Indeed, each country exerted its own seductive influence on the other, English collectors drawn in by the French rococo; French readers intrigued by the novelistic figure of the 'seduced maiden'.

Some threads also run through seduction across its different contexts. As is clear from its application to the rococo style, and to De Piles's theory of illusion, seduction raises issues of agency and (implicitly) of morality, as well as time. Illusion acts quickly, perhaps before the viewer is aware, and it may thereby rob them of the ability to make rational decisions about their response. This takes on a more urgent signification in fictional and semi-fictional accounts of the 'seduced maiden', often imagined as a sentimental figure unable to resist the

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[171] Emmett L. Avery, *The London Stage, 1700-1729: A Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), p.cxi.

[172] [Joseph Addison], *The Spectator*, No. 42 (Wednesday April 18, 1711), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I., pp.177-80 (p.180).

snares of a more powerful man. Indeed, this narrative cliché could also be applied to broader political questions of consent in governance, particularly in England, with its burgeoning constitutional monarchy. However, both countries (with varying levels of condemnation) understood the seduced to have surrendered their rational mind to sensual pleasures, or to have rejected an established power structure in favour of a nebulous one. This idea inheres in the word 'seduction' / 'séduire' itself, frequently ambiguous in definition, and focusing not so much on the seducer's action, as on its ultimate effect. This can have the effect of turning the blame for the seduction back onto the (often female) seduced, but also, paradoxically, of emphasising the 'emptiness' of seduction as an activity.

Thesis structure

This thesis will show that seduction, in all the forms outlined, was a rich subject for both Hogarth and Watteau. As the preceding analysis has indicated, it could apply equally to many different contexts, and had wide-ranging moral and philosophical implications. By discussing its relevance to both Watteau and Hogarth, artists popularly imagined to contrast with each other, this thesis addresses seduction in its broadest sense, placing it within the framework of Anglo-French exchange, and across both artists' oeuvres. At the same time, my conceptual framework also focuses four subjects that could otherwise expand indefinitely: Watteau; Hogarth; eighteenth-century Anglo-French exchange; seduction.

In order to answer this question clearly and effectively, this thesis is divided into three Parts, each comprising two chapters. I have chosen to structure each of these Parts around a different type of seductive 'space'. Part I addresses landscapes; Part II, cities; Part III, theatres. Each is selected as being particularly important, respectively, for Watteau, Hog-

arth, and Watteau and Hogarth. While it is common to link Watteau with the outdoor *fête galante*, Hogarth is often considered an artist of interiors. Similarly, despite his near-lifelong residence in Paris, Watteau is not usually characterised as an urban artist. However, the eighteenth-century theatre has commonly been seen as an important space for both artists: Watteau's *fêtes galantes* populated by figures from the *commedia dell'arte*; Hogarth's paintings, from the *Beggar's Opera* series (figs. 96-8) to the monumental *David Garrick as Richard III* (1745, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), drawing on developments on the British stage.

Each of my Parts considers Watteau and Hogarth in turn, and juxtaposes them both within and across the chapters. The three Parts therefore provide a series of frameworks for my central juxtaposition, while also allowing me to explore the work of each in contexts that are already well established, alongside contexts relatively new to them. Indeed, while many of the works considered in each Part are 'canonical'—Watteau's *Pèlerinage à l'île de Cythère*, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* and *Pierrot*; Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* and *Before* and *After*—I also consider pictures that have been less discussed, and include, along with Watteau's 'shopsign', sketches and ephemera, such as the trade-card Hogarth designed for his sisters. In all cases, these works have been chosen primarily because of their forceful address to seduction. However, this variety, combined with the fame of many of these works, also allows me to explore the full potential of the juxtaposition I propose, and to span a range of material contexts.

While each of the 'seductive spaces' addressed in this thesis are, as I have suggested, significant for Watteau, Hogarth, or the two together, landscapes, cities and theatres also all each speak to a different 'type' of seduction. As a result, in addition to addressing the work of Watteau and Hogarth, this thesis will be able to consider seduction in its fullest form, drawing on the parameters outlined above. My points of focus, each addressed within one of the three Parts, are: the 'tonal' divide between eighteenth-century France and Britain in rela-

tion to seduction; the 'rococo' style itself; seduction as a sexual act; seduction's political implications, and, finally, the moral and aesthetic implications of visual (theatrical) illusion.

Part I starts from the apparent tonal divide between French and British seduction which, as I have noted, hinged on the distinction between the 'narrative' of seduction and seduction's aesthetic and theoretical implications. Chapter One concerns the seductive 'rococo' style, and the courting couples of Watteau's *fête galante* form, both particularly associated with outdoor space. Chapter Two turns to 'practical' sexual seduction, notably the narrative of the resourceful seducer and the 'seduced maiden', through Hogarth's *Before* and *After*. Part II considers seduction's moral and social implications; the fear, invoked by Addison, that a seducer's attempt on an individual could have far-reaching consequences for a wider (political) order. Continuing the focus on seduction's most obvious application, sex (as discussed in Chapter Two), Chapter Three addresses urban prostitution in Hogarth's *Harlot*. Chapter Four considers more nebulous forms of urban seduction—shopkeeping and commerce—as part of a discussion of Watteau's *Enseigne*, and his invocation through it of the city's material fabric. I argue that, while apparently representing wholesome urban trade, Watteau's shopsign also speaks to underlying anxieties about the city's dangers.

Part III returns to the issues raised by the 'seductive' rococo style, but asks how these were applied to the theatre. Here, I am interested in the implications of seductive illusion, and its address to the issues of agency and morality highlighted above. Reflecting the point that both Hogarth and Watteau have been closely associated with the theatre, this section also expands my discussion of each to span almost a whole chapter. Chapter Five argues that Hogarth's *Laughing Audience* seeks to focus specifically on the effects of aroused passions in the 'seduced' party; Chapter Six considers Watteau's *Pierrot* and *The Italian Comedians* as representations of would-be actor-seducers. Here, seduction's parameters are expanded one step further, implicating both artist and viewer.

Part One:

'Shifting from Scene to Scene':

Seduction in the Landscape

Introduction

In Book V of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, the eponymous hero retires 'into the Fields' surrounding his benefactor's estate. Here, he finds himself in a Somersetshire *fête galante*, 'where the gentle Breezes fanning the Leaves, together with the sweet Trilling of a murmuring Stream, and the melodious Notes of Nightingales, formed all together the most enchanting Harmony'.[173] In this 'scene, so sweetly accommodated to love', Tom meets the gamekeeper's daughter, Molly Seagrim, and there ensues, writes the narrator, 'a Parly, which, as I do not think myself obliged to relate it, I shall omit. It is sufficient that it lasted a full Quarter of an Hour, at the Conclusion of which they retired into the thickest Part of the Grove'.[174]

Fielding's description imagines Tom and Molly akin to the figures in the background of a painting such as Watteau's *Fête Galante in a Wooded Landscape* (fig. 15), progressively disappearing from view as they walk between and behind trees. In Watteau's painting, the 'thickest Part of the Grove' is a picturesque element of a cultivated outdoor 'scene', designed, by landscapist or landscape painter, as a space through which couples may move. Fielding's 'grove', however, is also a practical place of burlesque concealment, whither lovers may 'retire' for equally practical purposes. In recounting Tom's retreat into it, with Molly, Fielding's

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[173] Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling*, ed. Alice Wakely and Tom Keymer ([1749] London: Penguin, 2005), p.228.

[174] Fielding, *Tom Jones*, p.229.

narrator decorously obscures the hero's actions from the reader, whilst also making them ironically explicit. What else is such a secluded space for?[175]

Fielding's passage draws ironically on the Classical trope of the *locus amoenus* (the 'pleasant spot' familiar from Homer, Plato and Virgil), but also, specifically, the visual world of Watteau.[176] As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Watteau's *fêtes galantes*, scenes of lovers' outdoor conversation and music-making, were much imitated in early eighteenth-century England, particularly after the arrival in London, around 1716, of Watteau's admirer Philippe Mercier.[177] In reaching for such precedents for *Tom Jones*, Fielding imaginatively associates their quasi-Arcadian settings, 'sweetly accommodated to love', with seduction itself. This association extends back to the pan-European medieval tradition of the religious *hortus conclusus* and secular 'love garden'.[178] However, it took on a newly practical character in the

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[175] For this trope later in the eighteenth century, see Sarah Lloyd, 'Amour in the Shrubbery: Reading the Detail of English Adultery Trial Publications of the 1780s', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 39:4 (Summer, 2006), 421-42 (p.430).

[176] The classic discussion of the *locus amoenus* is Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask, rev. edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp.183-202.

[177] For the 'Watteauesque' in England, see Brian Allen, 'Watteau and his Imitators in Mid-Eighteenth-century England', and Selby Whittingham, 'Watteaus and "Watteaus" in Britain c.1780-1851', in *Antoine Watteau (1684-1721): le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, ed. François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Paris-Genève: Champion-Slatkine, 1984), pp.259-67 and pp.269-77, and Robert Raines, 'Watteaus and "Watteaus" in England before 1760', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, vol. 89 (February, 1977), 51-64.

[178] The *hortus conclusus* is in the Song of Solomon, 4:12; see Roy Strong, *The Artist and the Garden* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp.86-110. For the love garden as source for Watteau, see Oliver T. Banks, *Watteau and the North: Studies in the Dutch and Flemish Baroque Influence on French Rococo Painting* (London; New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1977), p.156; on the love garden generally, Keith P. F. Moxey, 'Master E. S. and the Folly of Love', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 11:3/4 (1980), 125-48 (p.125); Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1989), III., pp.207-63 and Elise Goodman, *Rubens: The Garden of Love as 'Conversatie a la Mode'* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1992).

eighteenth century, a result both of the popularity of the *fête galante*, and of an increasing theorisation of landscape gardening, on both sides of the Channel.

Indeed, many landscape theorists considered that the cultivated outdoor space should itself seek to seduce the walker, a reminder of the origin of the term seduction: 'leading astray'. A 1709 French treatise attributed to Dezallier d'Argenville (1680-1765) but drawing on André le Nôtre (1613-1700), insisted that the eye should be encouraged 'de se promener au travers des arbres, & de découvrir la belle veuë de tous côtés'.[179] When, in a similar formulation, the British Robert Morris (1703-54) argued that the gardener's aim was to render the landscape itself 'a kind of *agreeable Disorder,* or *artful* Confusion; so that by shifting from Scene to Scene, and by serpentine or winding Paths, one should, as it were, accidentally fall upon some remarkably beautiful Prospect', he too evoked a kind of visual seduction.[180] For these writers, the (feminised) landscape is a beautiful, implicitly sexualised space, seducing the (male) walker imagined as progressing through it.

Movement through the landscape is also crucial for Tom and Molly, who 'retire' from their English *locus amoenus* to a secluded spot, perhaps also moving through 'serpentine or winding Paths' to get there. However, the physical progression described in *Tom Jones*, from a 'Parly' which 'lasted a full Quarter of an Hour' to the grove itself, also underlines the importance of time in effecting seduction—an idea only implicit in Morris's reference to 'serpentine or winding Paths'. It is therefore appropriate that Fielding should also use a visual joke from closer to home. In 1730-31, William Hogarth (whose 1736-38 *Four Times of the Day* appears in Book I of *Tom Jones*), had painted two sets of pendants, 'little pictures called Before

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[179] [Dezallier d'Argenville], *La Théorie et pratique du jardinage…* (Paris: Chez Jean Mariette, 1709), pp.17-18. On this text's authorship, see Thierry Mariage, *The World of André le Nôtre*, trans. Graham Larkin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp.90-91.

[180] Robert Morris, 'Lecture X', in *Lectures on Architecture Consisting of Rules Founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions…* (London: Printed for J. Brindley, 1734), p.161.

and After', now respectively in the Fitzwilliam and the Getty Museums (figs. 38-41).[181] They show the 'progress' of two seductions: the Fitzwilliam pair, like *Tom Jones*, set outside. After entreaties from the man to the woman in *Before* (Fielding's 'Parly'), the couple appear comically deflated in *After*. A central panel, *During*, is thereby implied, which—like *Tom Jones*'s 'omitted' retirement—has been removed by an intervening hand.

The motif continued to interest Hogarth. Five years later, on 18 December 1736, he announced: 'TWO prints called BEFORE and AFTER' in the *Daily Gazetteer.*[182] Loosely based on the 'indoor' pair, these prints (figs. 49-50) were accessible to a wider audience than the paintings, and were thus more comparable to his engraved Modern Moral Subjects. From 1731-36, then, Hogarth produced three depictions of sexual 'seduction', in painting and print. Their setting seems to have been important to him, since his major change between the six pictures was a transition from outdoors to in. However, their titles suggest that their subject is also time: the unfurling of Fielding's 'full Quarter of an Hour', and what it brings about.

The following chapters address 'outdoor' seduction from the respective angles of space and time, while showing the two to be interlinked. I begin with Watteau's *Pèlerinage à l'île de Cythère* (fig. 16), presented to the French Academy in 1717, and recorded as 'une feste galante', establishing it as emblematic of the French 'outdoor seduction' tradition on which

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[181] Fielding, *Tom Jones*, p.64; John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: J. & J. Boydell, 1812), III., p.21. Ronald Paulson disputed the dating of the Getty pictures in *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), I. cats. 141-42, p.171 but dated them to 1731 again in *Hogarth*, rev. edn, 3 vols (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991-93), I., p.218. I think this change of dating raises more issues than it answers. Since David Jaffé maintains 1731 in *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), cats. 78.PA.204 and 78.PA.205, p.60, as does Elizabeth Einberg in *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), cats. 40-42, p.80, I maintain it here. On Hogarth and Fielding, see P. J. De Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondences of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981).

[182] *The Daily Gazetteer,* Saturday 18 December 1736, p.2.

Tom Jones plays.[183] Such 'decorous *pastorale*', has been suggested by Robin Simon as a precedent for *Before* and *After*, but it also reflects a contemporaneous preoccupation with the idyllic 'place apart'.[184] In 1699, Madame de Murat (1670-1716) described walking through the gardens of the fictional 'comte de Selincourt', where 'il n'y a pas une petite fleur qui ne jette une odeur aimable, pas un oiseau qui ne chante; les esprits mêmes se trouvent plus libres'.[185] Surrounded by 'les plaisirs de la campagne', she (like Tom Jones) felt at liberty. Yet the prominence of such themes in France did not necessarily mean they were always 'decorous'; Mary Louise Ennis notes that '"arriver dans le port de Cythère" could also be synonymous with the expression "faire le voyage à Cythère" in connoting sexual intercourse'.[186]

Chapter One places *Cythère* in this context, asking how Watteau's approach to the pastoral intersects with his understanding of seduction, and specifically of seduction as a movement through outdoor space. Chapter Two addresses the practicalities of eighteenth-century English sexual seduction through a close analysis of Hogarth's *Before* and *After*. However, this chapter also returns to Cythera, with a focus on the second, Berlin version of the painting, which includes an additional couple at far right (fig. 19). How did Hogarth use

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[183] On the painting's designation as a 'feste galante', see Michael Levey, 'The Real Theme of Watteau's *Embarkation for Cythera*', *The Burlington Magazine*, 103:698 (May, 1961), 180-85 (p.181) and Claude Ferraton, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère" de Watteau', *Galerie jardin des arts*, 149 (July - August, 1975), 81-91 (pp. 87-89). Mary D. Sheriff points out the oddity of the designation for a painting with a putatively mythological theme in 'Emotional Geographies: Watteau and the Fate of Women', in *The Eighteenth Century: Global Networks of Enlightenment*, ed. David T. Gies and Cynthia Wall (Charlottesville; London: University of Virginia Press, 2018), pp.149-77 (p.152).

[184] Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: the Rise of the Arts in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007), p.92.

[185] Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, Madame de Murat, *Le Voyage de campagne* [1699], in *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans cabalistiques*, [ed. C. G. T. Garnier], 39 vols (Amsterdam, 1788), XXIX., pp.1-194 (pp.4-5).

[186] Ennis, 'Gardens to Grub Street', p.150.

the Watteauesque tradition, and how might Watteau, and particularly Watteau's seducers, be read through Hogarth's interest in time?

Chapter One

'Un labyrinthe, où l'on s'égare facilement':

Embarking for Cythera

In 1912, Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) told Paul Gsell that Watteau's *Pèlerinage à l'île de Cythère* (fig. 16) represented 'non seulement des gestes passagers, mais une longue *action*'.[187] Drawing on 'le terme usité dans l'art dramatique', he imagined the painting as a series of 'scènes', beginning at right with lovers' entreaties, and culminating with the paired pilgrims' embarkation at left. Fifty years later, Charles de Tolnay similarly described these figures as moving through 'trois actes principaux: persuasion, consentement, harmonie par l'union'.[188] For both, Watteau's painting illustrated the 'progress' of seduction (from persuasion to 'harmonie par l'union') through the serpentine line running across the canvas, an innovative use of space that is, in some sense, fundamental to its meaning.

As Rodin hints, this line allowed Watteau to address an enduring problem in aesthetic theory. In the words of Jean-Baptiste Dubos (1670-1742), 'le tableau qui représente une action, ne nous fait voir qu'un instant de sa durée'.[189] Rather than showing a single 'instant', Watteau shows a 'longue *action*', unfurling across space and, implicitly, time. However, this particular 'action'—the titular pilgrims' movement from one place to another—had also been linked since the seventeenth century with the painting's subject: seduction. Nicolas Faret's

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[187] Auguste Rodin and Paul Gsell, *L'Art: Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1912), p.97.

[188] Charles de Tolnay '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère" de Watteau au Louvre', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VIè période, XLV (February, 1955), 91-102 (p.96).

[189] Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Pierre-Jean Mariette, 1719), I., p.79.

(1596-1646) much republished *L'Honneste homme* (1637), advised those who wished to charm listeners in the aristocratic *salon* that the voice should be 'doux, clair, distinct, plein & net, en sorte qu'il penetre facilement iusques dans l'ame, sans trouver aucune resistance à l'entrée'.[190] Faret conflates the art of 'penetrating' souls, of winning listeners over, with taking territory 'sans trouver aucune resistance', in a formulation that is implicitly sexualised, though applied to the ostensibly non-sexual context of polite conversation. Similarly, François de La Rochefoucauld (1613-80) compared love to a sea where 'les navigations les plus heureuses sont exposées à mille dangers […] et que souvent même on fait naufrage dans le port'.[191] Like these writers, *Cythère* imagines (sexual) persuasion as a physical progress from one place to another, its embarkation not precluding the kind of La Rochefoucauldian shipwreck Watteau elsewhere delineated in red chalk (fig. 17).[192] However, the painting's address to space is also underscored through its central narrative device. Pilgrimage exemplifies the 'deep-seated human tendency to locate the holy at a distance from one's everyday surroundings', and *Cythère*, too, imaginatively 'locates' love, placing it in the kind of *locus amoenus* that would later become the butt of Fielding's irony.[193]

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[190] Nicolas Faret, *L'Honeste homme, ou, l'Art de plaire à la Cour* (Paris: Mathurin Henault, 1637), p.195.

[191] François de la Rochefoucauld, *Réflexions diverses* [1664-5] in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. L. Martin-Chauffier, rev. Jean Marchard (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1964), pp.501-41 (p.513) ('De l'amour et de la mer').

[192] This drawing has provoked much debate. See Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Watteau: the Drawings* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2011), cat. 12, p.54 for a summary.

[193] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.viii.

At the same time, this *locus amoenus* is also specifically identified with the mythological island of Cythera, which apparently particularly interested Watteau.[194] Having already painted *L'Isle de Cithère* (fig. 18) in the 1710s, he returned to the Louvre composition around 1718-19, creating the *Cythère* now in Berlin (fig. 19).[195] This last may originally have been intended for Jean de Jullienne, who had it engraved for the *Recueil* in 1733, along with another (now lost) Cythera painting titled *Bon voyage* (fig. 20).[196] Watteau's painted oeuvre therefore

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[194] For Cythera, see Mary Louise Ennis, 'From Gardens to Grub Street: Cythera after Watteau', *Dalhousie French Studies*, 29 (Winter, 1994), 143-58; Norbert Elias, 'Watteau's "Pilgrimage to the Island of Love"', in *Mozart and Other Essays on Courtly Art* (*The Complete Works of Norbert Elias*), ed. Eric Baker and Stephen Mennell, 18 vols (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 2010), XII, pp.31-53 (pp.31-32) and Edmond Pilon, 'Les Origines de "L'Embarquement pour l'Isle de Cythère"', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XL (June - December, 1921), 83-94

[195] On the dating of the earlier painting, see *Watteau, 1684-1721*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg and Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1984), cat. 9, pp.261-64 (p.261).

[196] On the two *Cythères*, and the link with Jullienne, see Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985), pp.194-95 and Julie Anne Plax, 'Belonging to the In Crowd: Watteau and the Bonds of Art and Friendship', *Studies in the History of Art*, 72 (2007), 48-71 (pp.52-53). Jullienne's association with the painting has been disputed by Ferraton; see '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"'. On the dating of the second version, see *Watteau*, ed. Rosenberg and Grasselli, cat. 9, pp.261-64 (p.261). For *Bon voyage*, see Martin Eidelberg, 'Bon Voyage', *A Watteau Abecedario* (July 2016), http://watteau-abecedario.org/bonvoyage.htm [accessed 8 February 2017]. For *Cythère* generally, see Adhémar, "*L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère*"—*Watteau* (Paris: Vendôme, 1947); De Tolnay, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"'; Le Coat, 'Le Pèlerinage à l'isle de Cithère'; Jan K. Ostrowski, 'Pellegrinaggio a Citera, "Fête Galante" o "Danse Macabre"', *Paragone*, 28:331 (1977), 9-22; Robert Tomlinson, *La Fête Galante: Watteau et Marivaux* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1981), esp. pp. 110-26; Elias, 'Watteau's "Pilgrimage to the Island of Love"', in *Mozart and Other Essays*, XII, pp.31-53; Catherine Cusset, *No Tomorrow: The Ethics of Pleasure in the French Enlightenment* (Charlottesville; London: University Press of Virginia, 1999), pp.15-40; Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.108-52; Sarah Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. pp.246-41; Georgia Cowart, 'Watteau's "Pilgrimage to Cythera" and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet', *The Art Bulletin*, 83:3 (September, 2001), 461-78 and Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies' in *Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Gies and Wall, pp.149-77.

contains at least four different examples of Cytherean subjects, from across his career.[197] This chapter asks how his use of space, and his interest in Cythera, intersects with his reading of seduction. Beginning with the 1717-19 *Cythère* paintings, and focusing on the Paris picture, it considers the physical 'progress' encapsulated both in the serpentine line, and in the motif of the pilgrimage itself. In the process, it relates Watteau's work to contemporaneous representations of 'outdoor' seduction, real and mythologised, in imaginative 'places apart'.[198]

Many of Watteau's contemporaries shared his tendency to identify such idyllic spaces with Cythera.[199] Cytherean plays and performances proliferated in Paris's official and fair theatres throughout the early 1700s, and into mid-century.[200] Indeed, Watteau's own *L'Isle de Cithère* is traditionally connected to the sung embarkation for Cythera that appeared at the end of Florent Dancourt's (1661-1725) contemporaneous *Les Trois cousines* (1706).[201] Even so, the link between Venus, love, and the actual Greek island of Kythera was still relatively new, apparently dating from the multi-lingual *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilis* (1499), translated into French in

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[197] There are also Watteau drawings with Cytherean themes; for example, the pair of arabesques engraved by Gabriel Huquier, discussed by Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIIe siècle*, 3 vols (Paris: Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, 1929), III., cat. 152, pp.75-76. Martin Eidelberg discusses the Cytherean subject of Watteau's *Figures françois et comiques* in Martin Eidelberg, *Watteau's Drawings: Their Use and Significance* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp.92-93.

[198] This includes literal pilgrimage destinations; see Sébastien Drouin, *Pèlerinages pour Cythère au siècle des lumières* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013), pp.8-11.

[199] See Drouin, *Pèlerinages pour Cythère*.

[200] For Cythera in early eighteenth-century French culture, see, in addition to Drouin, *Pèlerinages pour Cythère*, Tomlinson, *Watteau et Marivaux*, pp.110-26; Ennis, 'Gardens to Grub Street' and Cowart, 'Watteau's "Pilgrimage to Cythera"'.

[201] The connection was made by Louis de Fourcaud, 'Scènes et figures théâtrales', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 74 (March, 1904), 193-213. See also Tomlinson, *Watteau et Marivaux*, pp.113-14.

1546.[202] One of its effects was to imaginatively position sex and seduction in a separate realm, to which one travels, following Venus's advice, given in another Cytherean play, this by Louis Fuzelier (1672-1752): '[e]mbarquez-vous, suivez le tendre amour'.[203]

However, eighteenth-century France was also remarkable for the unusual range of practical locations and contexts through which such 'Cytherean' motifs might be elaborated. The *Hypnerotomachia*'s description of landscapes filled with Classical ruins influenced garden designers such as Le Nôtre, and, in Paris, an 'embarkation for Cythera' might also refer to the popular journey up the Seine to the gardens (again designed by Le Nôtre) of the Orléans residence at Saint-Cloud.[204] As these examples suggest, this allowed for a fluid shift of levels of reality, and of registers. Fuzelier's *Les Pèlerins de Cithère* (1713), performed at Paris's fair theatres, encapsulates the resulting fusion of real and mythological; its Cytherean boat appeared on a stage 'represent[ant] le bord de la Seine [où] on voit un bateau semblable a la Galiotte de St. Clou[d] avec des amours qui font la mavœuvre'.[205] Something similar is at work in Fielding's allusion to the 'Notes of Nightingales' in *Tom Jones*'s *locus amoenus*, surely

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[202] Joscelyn Godwin, 'Introduction', in Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, ed. and trans. Godwin (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), pp.vii-xvii (p.viii). For the *Hypnerotomachia*, see also Ennis, 'Gardens to Grub Street', 143-158 and Helen Barolini, *Aldus and his Dream Book: An Illustrated Essay* (New York: Italica Press, 1992), esp pp.91-135. Anthony Blunt discusses its French influence in 'The "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" in Seventeenth-century France', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1:2 (October, 1937), 117-37.

[203] Louis Fuzelier, *Les Amours déguisez* [1713], in *Recueil général des opéra représentés par l'Académie Royale de Musique depuis son établissement*, 11 vols (Paris: Chez la veuve de P. Ribou, 1719), XI., p.7.

[204] Ennis, 'Gardens to Grub Street', p.143. For the *Hypnerotomachia*'s influence on French garden design, see Denise and Jean-Pierre le Dantec, *Reading the French Garden: Story and History*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), pp.56-61 and Blunt, 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in Seventeenth-century France', pp.127-28; Tomlinson, *Watteau et Marivaux*, p.117.

[205] Fuzelier, *Les Pèlerins de Cithère*, Bibliothèque nationale, Arsenal MS-9454, n.p.

also intended to recall the nightingales that were a celebrated feature of another literal (English) site of amorous intrigues: London's Vauxhall pleasure gardens.[206]

Chapter One begins by reading *Cythère* through its French landscape contexts, focusing on the pleasure garden, the battlefield, and the pornographic landscape. It takes Watteau as its focus, though Hogarth's 'outdoor' *Before* and *After* partake of a similar tradition. While these paintings form the basis for extended discussion in Chapter Two, I therefore engage with them here in a comparative discussion of Vauxhall. The second half considers seduction as a physical 'progress'. Addressing Watteau's treatment of pictorial space, I argue that *Cythère*, the painting he presented to the Academy, arose from his earlier exploration of the decorative arabesque format, which distilled seductive 'progression' to its essentials. I conclude by asking how these ideas were implicated in other eighteenth-century media. Through a discussion of two labyrinthine forms, the topiary maze and eighteenth-century dance notation, I argue that Watteau's model of seductive space drew from a contemporaneous context that considered 'negative space'—moments between persuasion and consent—a site of creativity.

The seductive landscape, 1666—1731

The serpentine line that characterises *Cythère* had appeared before in Watteau's work. However, he had primarily used it in military subjects—notably *Le Défilé* (fig. 21), and *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* (fig. 22). In fact, battle painting was a useful forum for experimentation with landscape at a time when military cartography and surveying techniques were

[206] See David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), p.22.

witnessing a new flowering in France.[207] Oliver Banks has linked *Le Défilé* with the perspectival innovations of Louis XIV's military painter, Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632-90).[208] Whereas his predecessors had adapted an omniscient cartographic viewpoint, Van der Meulen's figures survey military operations from a subjective perspective.[209] The figures in *L'Armée française marchant sur Courtrai* (fig. 23), apparently unaware of the viewer, focus on the landscape before them. In drawing our attention to the relationship between these elements, the painting emphasises the contrast between these figures' privileged perspective and our curtailed one. Similarly, in *Le Défilé*, only one figure looks at the viewer. The others survey a landscape almost completely obscured from view by layered glazes.

Cythère similarly shows figures travelling through a landscape, and conceals parts of that landscape from us. In both versions of the painting, nearly half the composition is taken up by an almost illegible expanse of sea and sky. This is also veiled in transparent glazes, obscuring any underdrawing in a manner which Étienne Jollet has confirmed was inherent to Watteau's practice.[210] The blue paint on the horizon could equally be mountain or cloud, reflecting the the titular journey's unknowable aspects back to the viewer, and recalling both the experience of 'ambiguity', of being between places and mental states, characteristic of the religious pilgrimage, and the popular perception of Cythera itself as a mirage that vanished

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[207] Chandra Mukerji, 'Engineering and French Formal Gardens in the Reign of Louis XIV', in *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art*, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Michel Conan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp.22-43 (pp.27-28).

[208] Banks, *Watteau and the North*, p.147.

[209] Banks, *Watteau and the North*, p.147. See also Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp.172-73 and Isabelle Richefort, *Adam-François van der Meulen (1632-1690), peintre flamand au service de Louis XIV* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004), p.100.

[210] Étienne Jollet, 'Analyse technique et poétique de l'œuvre: le cas des "fêtes galantes" d'Antoine Watteau', *Technè*, No. 30-31 (2009-10), 229-236; see also Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies', in *Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Gies and Wall, p.166.

when approached.[211] Many of Watteau's travellers are themselves also partly inaccessible to us, notably the figure in pink on the crest of the hill.

In this sense, *Cythère* provides a painted counterpart to Madeleine de Scudéry's (1607-1701) 'Carte du Tendre' (fig. 24), which offered a guide to men who wished to progress to 'Tendre-sur-Inclination', a state of warm platonic friendship with women, via spaces such as 'Nouvelle Amitié' and 'Inclination Fleuve'. Offered as an illustration to readers of the novel *Clélie*, the Carte includes the motif (later seen in the paintings of Van der Meulen, and in *Le Défilé*) of small figures surveying territory from a hill. However, their walking sticks identify them not as soldiers but as pilgrims. Thomas Kavanagh develops the link between *Cythère* and the 'Carte', arguing that Watteau's painting 'effectively reverse[s] the conceptual hierarchy at work in Scudéry', zooming in on the couples in the bottom right-hand corner, and reducing the relative scale of the landscape. Intellectual conceptualisation of the places depicted is thus left 'entirely to the imagination'.[212] Indeed, Scudéry's vision is of a cartographic, rather than a subjective, territory; progress mapped out and supervised by an omniscient woman, who, by her act of mapmaking, claims authority and objectivity.[213] Watteau's pilgrimage, by contrast, in the large-scale format of an easel painting, moves away from the illustrative and the cartographic to show instead a process of moving over hills and (like the

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[211] Elias, 'Watteau's "Pilgrimage to the Island of Love"', pp.33, 37. For 'ambiguity' in the religious pilgrimage, see Robert A. Scott, *Miracle Cures: Saints, Pilgrimage and the Healing Powers of Belief* (Berkley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2010), pp.81-84.

[212] Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Esthetics of the Moment: Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp.173-74. On the 'Carte du Tendre', see Anne Duggan, 'Lovers, Salon, and State: La Carte du Tendre and the Mapping of Socio-Political Relations', *Dalhousie French Studies*, 36 (Fall, 1996), 15-22 and Joan Dejean, *Ancients against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.83-85.

[213] Ellen Brinks, 'Meeting Over the Map: Madeleine de Scudéry's "Carte du Pays de Tendre" and Aphra Behn's "Voyage to the Isle of Love"', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 17:1 (Spring, 1993), 39-52 (p.41).

couples pictured at the hill's foot) disappearing momentarily from view, before embarking onto the next, unknown, stage of the journey.

The link between seduction and mapmaking, particularly militaristic cartography, was familiar during this period.[214] In re-using a serpentine line in paintings both of battle and of love, Watteau highlights this link. Visually, both genres are embedded in geographical progression through spaces where one's viewpoint shifts; concealing, then revealing. However, military struggles and territorial conquest, where one party's triumph comes at the expense of another in a dispute over a finite resource, also provided ready metaphors for the putatively conflicting ambitions of men and women in sexual seduction: the man's desire to proceed to consummation; the woman's desire to keep him at bay (until the formalisation of marriage). Indeed, the term Fielding uses to describe Tom Jones's rapprochement with Molly —'Parly'—is a common loan from the French *parler*, meaning at once 'speech; conversation' and 'a meeting between opposing sides in a [military] dispute', combining negotiation with territorial aggression.[215] In 1665, Molière's (1622-73) serial seducer Dom Juan made the link explicit, declaring that he had 'un cœur à aimer toute la terre', and, like Alexander 'souhaiter[ait] qu'il y eût d'autres mondes, pour y pouvoir étendre mes conquêtes amoureuses'.[216] These examples imagine seduction, the means through which one is won over, to be linked directly to space. The 'landscape' is imagined as the 'ground' which each is prepared to surrender, or even as the (female) body over which the two fight for control.

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[214] Roy Porter, 'Rape: Does it have a Historical Meaning?', in *Rape: A Historical and Social Enquiry*, ed. Sylvana Tomaselli and Roy Porter (Padstow: T. J. Press, 1986), pp.216-36 (p.232). See also Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies', in *Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Gies and Wall, pp.154-56.

[215] See the variant 'parley' in *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], 'parley, n.1 (and int.)', http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/137986?rskey=uXJ9TP&result=1&isAdvanced=false [accessed 9 February 2017], 1a and 2a.

[216] Molière, *Dom Juan*, ed. Georges Couton, rev. edn ([1665] Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2013), I.ii, p.39.

These metaphorical readings of landscape found equivalents in contemporaneous landscape design. As Chandra Mukerji has argued, 'techniques of military control of land obsessed the entire nobility and pervaded the cartography of France during Louis XIV's reign', to the extent that the French formal garden itself 'was derived […] from the design and construction of military fortresses.[217] These gardens, and their English equivalents, were often also read as anthropomorphic.[218] Describing the 'framework and modelling of the terrain' in the garden layouts at Versailles, Thierry Mariage concludes that 'the form of the body has perhaps never been so adequately projected onto nature' as in Le Nôtre's plan.[219] This could quickly become sexualisation. The Cythera of the *Hypnerotomachia*, with its 'concentric circles of enclosed, headily-perfumed gardens […and] (clitoral) center', is modelled on the female body.[220] *A New Description of Merryland* (1740), by the virtually unknown Thomas Stretzer, and the yonic 'Temple' and 'Chamber of Venus' built at West Wycombe Park by Sir Francis Dashwood (1708-81) exemplify similar ideas reaching pornographic realms in Eng-

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[217] Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.8, 39. Mukerji develops this in 'Engineering and French Formal Gardens in the Reign of Louis XIV', in *Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Dixon Hunt and Conan, pp.22-43.

[218] For the Augustan garden as pornographic anthropomorphism, see Carole Fabricant, 'Binding and Dressing Nature's Loose Tresses: The Ideology of Augustan Landscape Design', *Studies in Eighteenth-century Culture*, 8 (1979), 109-35, and James G. Turner, 'The Sexual Politics of Landscape: Images of Venus in Eighteenth-century English Poetry and Landscape Gardening', *Studies in Eighteenth-century Culture*, 2 (1982), 343-66.

[219] Mariage, *André le Nôtre*, p.44.

[220] Ennis, 'Gardens to Grub Street', p.146.

land.[221] This is prefigured in the gentle swelling of the hill where Watteau's pilgrims congregate, echoed (in the Paris painting) by the similarly rounded breasts and stomach of the term of Venus—also buff in colour—surveying this scene of love. Indeed, Robert Tomlinson argues for Watteau's painting as an example of Cythera's counter-cultural pornographic tradition, in which onstage pilgrims would emphasise the size of their gourds and 'coquilles'.[222]

The landscape garden

Watteau's use of the serpentine line in paintings both of love and war suggests that, like his contemporaries, he saw resonances between them based on the gradual appropriation of space and territory. At the same time, his unfolding line reflects contemporaneous discussions of early eighteenth-century landscapes, and particularly landscape gardens. During this period, the French garden, dominated by Le Nôtre, drew both from the English 'natural' style and the elaborate fountains and constructions of the Italian Renaissance.[223] Though Le Nôtre's work has been considered as rigid and authoritarian as the French absolutist state,

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[221] See Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.28. On Dashwood's gardens, see Michael Symes, 'Flintwork, Freedom and Fantasy: The Landscape at West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire', *Garden History*, 33:1 (Summer, 2005), 1-30. On the sexualised landscape in mid-eighteenth century England, see Julie Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: the Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 97-107 and Darby Lewes, 'Nudes from Nowhere: Pornography, Empire and Utopia', *Utopian Studies*, 4:2 (1993), 66-73. On the link between Venus and gardens, see David R. Coffin, 'Venus in the Eighteenth-century English Garden', *Garden History*, 28:2 (Winter, 2000), 173-93 (183-4) and Turner, 'Sexual Politics of Landscape'.

[222] Tomlinson, *Watteau et Marivaux*, pp.122-23.

[223] Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions*, pp.31-32. For Le Nôtre, see *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, ed. Patricia Bouchenot-Déchin and Georges Farhat (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013), and for the cross-Channel precedent of the Italian garden, John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750* (London; Melbourne: JM Dent, 1986).

his creations, and those of his contemporaries, also indicate an interest in proto-rococo elements: 'shady areas, irregular paths, rivulets and chasms', prioritising walkers' sensory and imaginative responses.[224] Madame de Sévigné drew a link between the latter two when, in 1671, she described being 'dans la rosée jusqu'à mi-jambes pour prendre des alignements; je fais des allées de retour tout autour de mon parc, qui seront d'une grande beauté', finding mental restoration there.[225]

Dezallier d'Argenville similarly emphasised these kinds of natural elements, arguing that it was '[l]a variété & la diversité de la composition' and 'une sage distribution' that 'rend[ent] un Jardin parfait'. In such a context, 'Bois & Bosquets', areas of temporary wildness, acted as 'le relief des Jardins', facilitating greater appreciation of the flat, formal areas and their parterres.[226] Built on this alternation between the wild, the tame, and the shifts between the two, such gardens called attention to the visual experience of moving through them. Similarly, by alternating areas of clarity and ambiguity, *Cythère*'s equally 'varied' serpentine line highlights the limits and opportunities of the perspectives offered at each stage.

In the garden, this 'variety' had the effect of prioritising the element of surprise. As F. Hamilton Hazlehurst writes of Le Nôtre's plans at Saint-Cloud, which were dominated by

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[224] Mariage, *André le Nôtre*, p.89; see also Adams, *French Garden*, p.75. An example of the 'rigid' interpretation of Le Nôtre is Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), pp. 33-34. On the gardens at Versailles, see Robert Berger, *In the Garden of the Sun King: Studies on the Park of Versailles under Louis XIV* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985). For the 'natural' versus the formal garden, see John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press, 1992), pp.53-54 and Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), pp.48-77.

[225] Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Madame de Sévigné, *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, de sa famille et de ses amies…*, ed. J. J. Blaise, 10 vols (Paris: Librairie de S. A. S. Madame La Duchesse d'Orléans Douairiére, 1820), II., pp. 230-31 (28 October 1671).

[226] [D'Argenville], *La Théorie et pratique du jardinage*, p.47. See also William Howard Adams, *The French Garden 1500-1800* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), pp.82-84.

deceptive variations in height and level: 'Anticipation of the surprises entices the visitor to explore the garden'.[227] By continually intriguing the walker, the gardener encouraged them to keep walking, and Madame de Murat's list-like description of 'avenues magnifiques, des eaux admirables, de beaux jardins, des bois' effectively evokes the resulting experience.[228] This went hand in hand with the developing importance of the putatively purposeless 'promenade', which became (argues Laurent Turcot) the only way to appreciate the garden of this period.[229] However, it is also familiar from the precedent of the English 'artinatural' garden, where walkers, similarly, were 'no longer […] passive spectator[s]'.[230]

In inducing their walker-viewers to progress through 'anticipation' and 'surprise', the relationship of these gardens with their visitors was inherently seductive. *Cythère*'s serpentine line already mirrors the visual experience of such gardens. However, by linking its couples' movement along that line with the different stages of (sexual) courtship, it also explicitly links this outdoor 'progress' with seduction itself. In echoing in painting models already established in the landscape garden, Watteau followed the recommendation of Roger de Piles, who imagined the landscape painter playing a similar role to the landscape designer, arguing that 'le païsage' should offer not a faithful reproduction but rather the selection and editing of elements to create the optimum view. For De Piles, 'la Peinture, qui est une espèce de création, l'est encore plus particulièrement à l'égard du païsage': painters created both the painting and the view itself.[231]

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[227] F. Hamilton Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of André le Nostre* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1980), pp.293-94. See also Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions*, pp.82-86 and Adams, *French Garden*, pp.82-84.

[228] Murat, *Voyage de campagne*, p.2.

[229] Laurent Turcot, *Le Promeneur à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2007), pp.57-67.

[230] Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and Picturesque*, pp.53-54.

[231] Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Chez Jacques Estienne, 1708), p.201.

These ideas have been noted before: Richard Rand uses similar descriptions from later in the century to draw a comparison between the picturesque garden and the work of Jean-Honoré Fragonard, in whose *Les Hazards heureux de l'escarpolette*, known as *The Swing* (c. 1767-8, Wallace Collection, London), he sees an 'attempt to find a visual equivalent for the haphazard, meandering character of the new French picturesque garden'.[232] However, much of what Rand sees in Fragonard is already present in *Cythère*. Indeed, Adams draws the link between the 'romantic' garden of the later eighteenth century and the 'poetically overgrown' formal gardens of the Tuileries and the Luxembourg after declining investment in the final years of Louis XIV's reign and the Regency that followed.[233] Within this context, *Cythère* is distinctive in linking such spatial uncertainty specifically with (sexual) seduction.

At the same time, a similar idea—that the viewer's eye moves subjectively through a garden space—is often also advanced by scholars studying Hogarth. For Frédéric Ogée; 'l'inscription de l'image dans une série, comme le parcours sinueux du nouveau jardin "à l'anglaise", leur rendent un dynamisme plus fidèle aux mouvements du temps et de la nature'.[234] This viewer is imagined to take the artist on trust, wandering freely through the 'parcours sinueux' of his 'progress', surprised by what appears next. Ronald Paulson similarly suggests that 'the experience inside one of Hogarth's progresses was very like that in the house or garden at Stowe, Rousham, Stourhead or Holkham'.[235] However, it is possible to identify a more specific reference point. Between 1729-33, also the period of *Before* and *After*

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[232] Richard Rand, 'Representing the Picturesque Garden: The Landscapes of Fragonard' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, 1995), p.183.

[233] Adams, *French Garden*, p.104. On the public gardens in Paris, see Richard Cleary, 'Making Breathing Room: Public Gardens and City Planning in Eighteenth-century France', in *Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Dixon Hunt and Conan, pp.68-81.

[234] Frédéric Ogée, 'L'Œil erre: les parcours sériels de Hogarth', *Tropismes*, 5 (1991), 39-105 (p.41).

[235] Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p.35.

and his first essay into the 'Progress' format, Hogarth is also generally agreed to have been 'heavily involved' with the initiatives of Jonathan Tyers (1702-67) at Vauxhall Gardens, in which English context, many of the issues I have been highlighting in the French garden were also in evidence.[236]

Existent in some form since the seventeenth century, Vauxhall was expanded into an elaborate London attraction in the first decades of the eighteenth.[237] Tyers, a friend of Hogarth through the Wits' Club, purchased the site in March 1729, and set about transforming it into a space combining virtue and pleasure.[238] While it is generally assumed that Hogarth's contribution to Vauxhall was the introduction of the 'Old Slaughter's' group of artists, David Coke and Alan Borg suggest that he may also have encouraged Tyers to think of the space in terms 'closer to his own "modern moral" paintings'.[239] The link these authors make is apparently tonal, since they do not connect Hogarth's 'Modern Moral Subjects' with the 'progress' format in which they were presented. However, is clear that physical 'progression' was as

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[236] Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, p.49; see also Mark Girouard, 'Coffee at Slaughter's: English Art and the Rococo - 1', *Country Life*, CXXXIX (13 January, 1966), 58-61 (p.60).

[237] The definitive account of Vauxhall Gardens is Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*. See also Peter de Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp.72-103; Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York; London: The Guildford Press, 1998), pp.118ff; David Solkin, *Painting for Money: the Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London Yale University Press, 1993), pp.106-56. For the social context, see Hannah Greig, '"All Together and All Distinct": Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (January, 2012), 50-75.

[238] Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, pp.36-37. On the comparison with Tyers's Denbies, see Brian Allen, 'Jonathan Tyers's Other Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 1:3 (1981), 215-38.

[239] Girouard, 'Coffee at Slaughter's', pp.58-61; Coke and Borg, p.50. On contemporary art at Vauxhall Gardens, see Solkin, *Painting for Money*, pp.106-56; Brian Allen, 'Francis Hayman and the Supper-box Paintings for Vauxhall Gardens', in *The Rococo in England: A Symposium*, ed. Charles Hind (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986), pp.113-33; Lawrence Gowing, 'Hogarth, Hayman and the Vauxhall Decorations', *The Burlington Magazine*, 95:598 (January, 1953), 4-17+19. For a response to Gowing's discussion, Alastair Smart, 'Hogarth or Hayman? Another look at the "Fairies Dancing on the Green by Moonlight"', *Apollo*, 205 (March, 1979), 208-12.

important to how Tyers thought about the gardens as it would become for Hogarth's own project. The gold ticket presented to Hogarth in 1733 as 'Beneficii memoriam', featuring 'Virtus' and 'Voluptus' hand in hand (fig. 25) shows these allegorical figures both harmoniously united and physically moving through what we can assume must be one of Vauxhall's promenades.

However, in the popular imagination these 'promenades' were closely associated not with Hogarthian morality, but with seduction. Though Tyers sought to dispel the Gardens' reputation as a 'much-frequented rural Brothel', Vauxhall would remain famous for assignations throughout the century.[240] In 1730, Thomas Brown noted that 'those Ladies that have an inclination to be private take delight in the close walks of Spring-Gardens [Vauxhall], where both Sexes meet, and mutually serve one another as Guides to *lose* their Way'.[241] These walks, whose 'windings and turnings' were so intricate that 'the most experienced mothers have often lost themselves in looking for their daughters', offer an archer interpretation of what an anonymous author in 1712 described as '*Stages, Labyrinths* and *Green plots of Fresh Grass*, to retire to for an agreeable Solitude' at a contemporaneous French public garden, the Tuileries in Paris.[242]

They also provide a literal geographical equivalent both to Fielding's 'thickest part of the grove', and to Hogarth's act of 'censorship' in *Before* and *After*. Walkers are imagined travelling (and leading each other) through both literal and metaphorical 'seductions', dependent on features of geography. Indeed, the psychological potential for such sexual ex-

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[240] [John Lockman], 'A Sketch of the Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall, in a letter to a Noble Lord' (London: G. Woodfall, [1751]), p.28; on sexual transgression at Vauxhall, see Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, pp.118-22.

[241] Thomas Brown, 'Amusements Serious and Comical; Calculated for the Meridian of London', *The Works of Mr Thomas Brown*, 4 vols (London: Printed for Edward Midwinter, 1730), III., pp.47-48.

[242] [Anonymous] *The Present State of the Court of France and City of Paris…* (London: Printed for E Curll at the Dial and Bible, 1712), p.48.

ploration at Vauxhall was probably heightened by another geographic feature: the boat journey required to get there, a novelty reported in June 1732 by Edmund Curll (c.1675-1747) in language calculated to evoke magic and mystery: the river was 'cover'd with Wherries, whose living, luscious freight is unloaded upon the Strand, and scuds away into *Spring Gardens*'.[243]

This boat journey provides an alternative 'embarkation for Cythera' to the one already established in Paris between the city and Saint-Cloud. First recorded in 1614, the public 'Galiote de Saint-Cloud' (fig. 26) is suggested by Tomlinson to have been a source for the boat in *Cythère*, as it was for Fuzelier's own *Pèlerins*.[244] One of two public horse-drawn routes running along the Seine, the 'Galiote' departed regularly from the Pont-Royal, carrying pleasure-seekers to Saint-Cloud via Sèvres, from which point travellers could take the 'voie royale' to Versailles.[245] As Fuzelier's play suggests, the journey often took on an ironic range of meanings in popular culture. In 1695, the comtesse de la Suze (1618-73) described a 'Voyage de Saint Cloud' in allegorical terms, with a fictional royal couple arriving at the gardens 'dans un petit Vaisseau' on which 'l'or, l'azur, & la broderie y sont en abondance'.[246] In a prefiguration of *Cythère*, the departing barge is followed by 'mille petits amours qui durant le jour n'avoient osé paroître'.[247] Despite these obviously mythological elements, the title of the

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[243] Edmund Curll, 'Pleasures, which no where else are to be found', *Applebee's Journal* (10 June 1732), reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. 2 (June, 1732), p.797.

[244] See Tomlinson, *Watteau et Marivaux*, p.117.

[245] For the 'galiote', and Saint-Cloud as pleasure site, see Mariette Portet, *Saint-Cloud les Hauts-de-Seine* (Condé-sur-Noireau: C. Corlet, 1966), esp. p.68, and Pierre Mercier, 'Les Galiotes de Sèvres et de Saint-Cloud (1539-1790)', *Paris et Ile-de-France—Mémoires*, 45 (1994), 13-220. A later eighteenth-century account of the journey is Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, 3 vols (Hambourg: Virchaux & Compagnie, 1781), I., p.78.

[246] Henriette de Coligny de La Suze, 'Relation d'un Voyage de Saint Cloud' [1695], in *Recueil de pieces galantes, en prose et en vers, de Madame la comtesse de la Suze*, ed. J. B. Souchay, 4 vols (Trevoux: De l'imprimerie de S. A. S., 1725), IV., pp.118-24 (p.119).

[247] De La Suze, 'Relation d'un Voyage de Saint Cloud', p.124.

piece clearly 'locates' this Arcadian scene on the outskirts of Paris, in the gardens known for the central cascade ('ce merveilleux jet d'eau') described in 1644 by John Evelyn.[248]

This mixture of mythological and literal elements underlines the 'apartness' of Saint-Cloud, establishing it as a place where magic might occur, a feature it apparently shared with Vauxhall. Whereas for the comtesse de la Suze, Saint-Cloud was a place where 'petits amours' gathered, Joseph Addison described Vauxhall as a 'kind of *Mahometan* Paradise', consciously evoking the exoticised and the 'other'.[249] Both sets of gardens might therefore be specifically identified as 'playgrounds', in the sense imagined by Johan Huizinga—'temporary worlds within the ordinary world'—and further evidence of an imaginative rooting of seduction 'elsewhere', on an island of love.[250] The 'apartness' of both the French and English gardens was underscored via specifically fluvial travel, reflecting how, for François Moureau, '[l]a transportation libertine de la réalité aboutit […] à une déshumanisation radicale et à la mise entre parenthèses du monde moral'.[251] Indeed, the comtesse de la Suze emphasised the journey as a transitional point. While on this 'petit Vaisseau', her travellers are unsure 'que choisir, entre l'envie d'arriver, & la peine de quitter le lieu où ils étoient'. Similarly, when the time comes for the ultimate departure, 'le Prince ordonna de ramer lentement, & de laisser aller le Vaisseau presque au gré des flots'.[252]

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[248] John Evelyn, 'Kalendarium, 1620-1649', in *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), II., pp.107-8 (27 February, 1644)

[249][Joseph Addison], *The Spectator,* No. 383 (Tuesday 20 May, 1712), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), III. pp.436-39 (p.328).

[250] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), p.10.

[251] François Moureau, *Le Théâtre des voyages: une scénographie de l'Âge classique* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), p.409.

[252] De La Suze, 'Relation d'un Voyage de Saint Cloud', pp.120, 122.

At the same time, ferry-travel to the pleasure garden is also an established trope in the painted proto-*fête galante*, works such as David Vinkboons's *Spring*, known through a 1618 engraving by Hendrick Hondius II (c.1597-1644), and *An Elegant Party in an Ornate Palace Garden* (figs. 27-28)—as well as in *Cythère*.[253] There is evidence that such links were also on the minds of Hogarth's contemporaries. In 1732, Fielding described a 'dream' of Vauxhall which involved journeying to 'THE PALACE OF PLEASURE', overseen by a statue of the '*Venus* of *Medicis*' and accessed via 'little gilded *Gondolas*, more magnificent than *Cleopatra*'s', all elements that recall the *Hypnerotomachia*, but specifically the embarkation for Cythera as represented in Watteau's composition, the second version of which was engraved by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (1694-1749) the following year.[254] These descriptions suggest a conscious mythologising of the journey to Vauxhall, and therefore of Vauxhall itself, mediated through visual art. A similar blurring of illusion and reality would later feature prominently in the layout of the gardens themselves, just as it runs through French writings about Saint-Cloud.[255]

Cythère and the arabesque

Contemporaneous seductive landscapes provide one context for the unfurling line of *Cythère*; the figures from battle paintings by Van der Meulen, and Watteau himself, another. However,

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[253] Vinckboons's *Elegant Party* was sold at Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2014, lot 30. For the Hondius engraving, see Kahren Jones Hellerstedt, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: Sixteenth and Seventeenth-century Netherlandish Gardens* (Pittsburgh, PA: The Frick Art Museum, 1986), cat. 4, pp.11-12.

[254] [Henry Fielding], 'A Vision, occasion'd by the Ridotto al Fresco', *Weekly Register; or, the Universal Journal*, Saturday 17 June 1732, p.114. Fielding's semi-mythological 'gilded *Gondolas*' can be compared with the barge designed by William Kent for Frederick, Prince of Wales; see Geoffrey Beard and John Hardy, 'The Royal Barge', in *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, ed. Susan Weber (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp.303-13.

[255] On illusion and reality at Vauxhall, see de Bolla, *Education of the Eye*, pp.82, 85.

while Van der Meulen's landscapes are topographically plausible, if not necessarily accurate, *Cythère*'s geography is marked by sudden, lurching, planar shifts, its spaces difficult to read, and difficult in a way distinct from the planar divisions of the French formal garden. While I have suggested that these shifts call attention to the subjective viewpoints of the landscape garden, the ambiguity about spatial planes (rather than space in general) is specific to Watteau.

Van der Meulen's *L'Armée française* is stage-like, with distinct paths running through its landscape; *Cythère's* land is loosely divided up by rocks and shrubs, and in the area around the kneeling man at the far right, an ill-defined brown space simultaneously acts as (horizontal) grass and (vertical) shrubs. The man himself, apparently kneeling, is only touching the ground with the tips of his toes. This imbalance is underscored by the land lurching downwards in front of him: his companion seems to sit comfortably, but is in fact teetering on the edge of a sudden drop. While absent from the battle and landscape painters discussed above, this planar uncertainty is a feature of other works by Watteau, dating back as far as his time studying the collection of Pierre Crozat (1665-1740). A copy after a drawing by Titian from this period (fig. 29), is similarly characterised by variegated planes of land, within which the position of the figures remains unclear.[256]

The lack of topographical clarity in *Cythère* ensures that, while its landscape dominates the composition, the figures that move through it do not interact with their surroundings as would an army, or a garden visitor; indeed, Sheriff highlights their complete lack of engagement with anything beyond themselves.[257] The island is therefore presented less as a practical space to be surveyed and charted than as an abstract context for the pilgrimage it facilitates. This tradition is rare in contemporaneous landscape painting, but does recall what

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[256] On this drawing, see Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Antoine Watteau, 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*, 3 vols (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996), II., cat. 432, pp.718-19.

[257] Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies', in *Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Gies and Wall, p.167.

Diana Webb highlights as the 'real objective' of the religious pilgrimage: 'a greater perfection of the inner life', to which a specific geographical destination was largely irrelevant.[258] Aesthetically, it also reflects Watteau's earlier explorations of the arabesque, a period of apprenticeship that was formative in his conception of space.[259]

Like the 'island of love' topos itself, the arabesque is tied to space, and was itself a product of contemporaneous developments in interiors. Though Van der Meulen and landscape theorists provide a way of thinking about geographic space, arabesques facilitated a more abstract approach to rural settings. That the two should be combined in *Cythère*, as I argue below, reflects Cythera's status within French culture as at once literal and allegorical. 'Cythera' was simultaneously Saint-Cloud, Venus's mythological birthplace, and an embodiment of vaguer ideas of sexual seduction and conquest.[260] Indeed, as René Démoris has suggested, the eighteenth-century aristocrats who embarked on their own pilgrimages to

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[258] Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, p.47.

[259] On Watteau as decorative painter, see Paul Mantz, *Antoine Watteau* (Paris: À la librairie illustrée, 1892), pp.25-36; Edmond Pilon, *Watteau et son école*, 2 vols (Paris; Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art & d'Histoire, 1912), I., pp.117-33; Édouard Rahir, *Antoine Watteau, peintre d'arabesques* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1922); Hélène Adhémar, 'A propos de Claude Audran et Antoine Watteau', *Arts*, 294 (19 January, 1951), 1; Bruno Pons, 'Arabesques, or New Grotesques', in *The History of Decorative Arts: Classicism and the Baroque in Europe*, ed. Alain Gruber (Paris: Editio-Editions Citadelles & Mazenod, 1993; New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), pp.159-223 (pp.172-73); Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo Decorative Style* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), pp.137-38; Katie Scott, 'Playing Games with Otherness: Watteau's Chinese Cabinet at the Château de la Muette', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, LXVI (2005), 189-248.

[260] Nineteenth-century French poets inverted this by visiting the Greek island of Cythera and reading it 'through' Watteau. See Charles Baudelaire, 'Voyage à Cythère', from *Les Fleurs du mal* [1852], in *The Complete Verse*, ed. Francis Scarfe (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 1986), pp.222-25, Gerard de Nerval, 'Un Voyage à Cythère', in *Sylvie* [1853], ed. Pierre-Georges Castex (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1970), pp.36-38. See Ken Ireland, *Cythera Regained? The Rococo Revival in European Literature and the Arts, 1830-1910* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2006), pp.42-43 and Louisa E. Jones, *Pierrot—Watteau: A Nineteenth Century Myth* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag; Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1984), pp.61, 69.

Cythera (or to Saint-Cloud) did so 'surtout pour s'y retrouver davantage eux-mêmes, non pour se perdre dans la nature'.[261] Outdoor space was a way to think about interiority.

Over the second half of the seventeenth century, aristocratic rooms gradually reduced in size and scale, a change Édouard Rahir describes in terms of a shift from the morality of the declining Sun King to the Regency: '[a]ux grandes salles nécessaires aux réceptions pompeuses du temps de Louis XIV on substitua des petits salons, des boudoirs, des cabinets où les intrigues galantes de la Régence se donnèrent libre cours'.[262] These rooms also became increasingly tied to specific purposes, such as dining, rather than serving as multi-functional spaces, and were frequently decorated with newly popular arabesques.[263] For Rahir, these arabesques' subjects 'fu[rent] appropriée à leur destination et ce fut au milieu de bosquets de feuillages, de palais de féerie, que les artistes placèrent leurs compositions galantes et voluptueuses'.[264] His image of a 'bosquet' in the 'petit salon' conflates real (indoor) and imaginary (outdoor) space in a manner that recalls the arabesque itself, which juxtaposes naturalistic figurative elements of the type later seen in *Cythère*, with fantastical borders of acanthus and foliage.

Around 1708, while still working with Claude Audran (1658-1734), Watteau produced eight painted panels and a ceiling of *singeries* for the Hôtel Nointel on Paris's Left

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[261] René Démoris, 'Les Fêtes Galantes chez Watteau et dans le roman contemporain', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 3 (1971), 337-57 (p.347).

[262] Rahir, *Antoine Watteau*, pp.6-7. Kimball quarrels with Rahir's idea of a break in 1715, but broadly upholds his thesis: see Kimball, *Creation of the Rococo*, p.113. On the cabinet in the seventeenth century, see Alain Mérot, 'Le cabinet, décor et espace d'illusion', *XVIIe siècle*, 162, 41e année (January - March, 1989), 37-51.

[263] George Savage, *French Decorative Art, 1638-1793* (London: Allen Lane; The Penguin Press, 1969), pp.32, 35; Pons, 'Arabesques', in *History of Decorative Arts*, ed. Gruber, pp.166-8. See also Alfred de Champeaux, *L'Art décoratif dans le vieux Paris* (Paris: Librairie Générale de l'Architecture et des Arts Industriels, 1898).

[264] Rahir, *Antoine Watteau*, p.7.

Bank.[265] The two surviving paintings of the group, titled *L'Enjôleur* and *Le Faune* by Pierre-Alexandre Aveline, who engraved them in 1731 and 1738 (figs. 30-31), are the only extant decorative works securely attributed to Watteau, the rest of the scheme now known only through engravings.[266] The couple in *L'Enjôleur* prefigure the pink-clad figure and his companion at the top of the hill in *Cythère*: like the later pilgrim, the man carries a staff, and prepares to lead his companion off into an (unspecified) landscape; she smiles, and takes his hand. The painting therefore captures the moment after the one focused on in *Cythère*, as a united couple prepare definitively to depart. However, the narrative is complemented by bathetic features more explicit than the ones Tomlinson identifies in the Louvre painting. The phallic bagpipe, hung with comic emphasis at the centre of a 'frame' of acanthus, reflects ironically on the seductive ambitions of the titular 'enjôleur'. The basket of flowers suspended above is a parallel reference to the woman wearing pink flowers on her bodice, perhaps more specifically alluding to her imperilled virginity.[267]

Writing of this period of Watteau's career, the comte de Caylus noted that '[c]e fut là que Wateau [sic] forma son goût pour l'ornement et qu'il acquit une légèreté de pinceau qu'exigent les fonds blanc'.[268] In fact, the major contribution of Audran, Watteau's teacher, to the arabesque had been his lightening of filigree-like motifs, which thereby 'stand out in

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[265] Jean Cailleaux, 'Decorations by Antoine Watteau for the hôtel de Nointel', *The Burlington Magazine*, 103:696 (March, 1961), i-v (p.i); on this commission, see also Mantz, *Antoine Watteau*, p.26; Nicole Garnier-Pelle, 'Singeries and Exoticism' in Nicole Garnier-Pelle, Anne Forray-Carlier and Marie-Christine Anselm, *The Monkeys of Christophe Huet*, trans. Sharon Grevet, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), pp. 13-123 (pp.23-24).

[266] The most recent summary of these paintings' history and attribution is *Watteau 1684-1721*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cats. 2-3, pp.248-50, though *L'Enjôleur* is reproduced in reverse.

[267] Crow, *Paintings and Public Life*, p.62. René Démoris draws a link between this juxtaposition of elements and Watteau's *fêtes galantes*; see Démoris, 'Les Fêtes Galantes chez Watteau et dans le roman contemporain', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 3 (1971), 337-57 (pp.352-53).

[268] Caylus, 'La Vie d'Antoine Watteau', p.61.

vivid silhouette against the backgrounds, which as a result become more prominent'.[269] The lightness of these arabesques was appropriate to the smaller architectural contexts in which they would be placed, and the negative space became almost as important as the decorative motif. This in turn implicates the interplay between the represented world (the arabesques) and that 'negative' space—the white background, but more saliently the room itself, where any number of encounters, sensory or otherwise, might take place. In this context, the acanthus 'frames' are imagined borders between the real and the represented, marking what is seen within them as self-consciously artificial.

The lightness is also a feature of the compositions. The couple in *L'Enjôleur* are on a symmetrical platform, encrusted with heavy gems and marked as robust by the shadows that punctuate it. This platform, resembling a stage, is simultaneously imagined to float freely in space—unsupported by anything underneath—and to be 'pulled' downwards by the anchor-like dangling bagpipe. This bagpipe is the only element in the composition that is not implicitly upwardly mobile: even the figures who rely on the platform to support themselves apparently float separate from it, the woman located only by a small area of shadow, and the man's single balancing foot offset by the rest of his body hovering above. Meanwhile, the lighter areas of colour above the 'stage', together with the green grass, suggest an area apart. The focal couple also disrupt the symmetry of their support. Neither of them is at the centre of the platform, but neither are they neatly positioned either side of its central jewel. The 'enjôleur', who most nearly occupies the central axis, instead leans to one side, pulling the group off balance, while the woman, apparently leaning back even as she extends her hand, pulls the visual weight to the other.

The resultant sense of irresolution and temporality, emphasised by the way the figures seem to float in negative space, is also found in *Cythère*'s hovering figures. Indeed, this is

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[269] Pons, in *History of Decorative Arts*, ed. Gruber, pp.170-72.

the primary compositional contrast between Watteau's painting and his obvious painted precedent, Peter Paul Rubens's *The Garden of Love* (fig. 32), whose solid Baroque edifices anchor the composition.[270] Rubens's figures are as well-defined as the buildings, and clearly rooted in their environment. Conversely, despite working on a canvas of similar size to his later *Pierrot* (fig. 104), Watteau focuses in *Cythère* on the small, and the decorative, and gives over half of his composition to the blue-green sea; an equivalent to the arabesque's negative space.

It is therefore striking that Hélène Adhémar should have seen in Watteau's arabesques a movement towards the 'tableau' through the addition of 'le paysage'. However, whereas she sees in these additions a sign that 'Watteau renonce peut à peu presque complètement à l'élément décoratif', I argue, following Thomas Crow, that he adapted the decorative into the easel format.[271] In *Cythère*, as well as recalling the ideal movement of the walker through a surprising landscape, the serpentine unfurling of the lovers' procession also recalls the acanthus foliage of the arabesque. The repetition of the roses at far right (around Venus) and at far left (by the boat) recall the symmetrical framing devices of Watteau's decorative work. Moreover, the three sets of pilgrims at the top of the hill are surrounded by an oval of darker paint emerging out of the trees and rocks around them, creating a smaller area of focus, an oval frame, within the total expanse of landscape and sky. Watteau experimented with such oval frames frequently whilst working under Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716) early in his career.[272]

Like the arabesque, *Cythère* is characterised by a disorienting oscillation between the real and the illusory. There is a burst of smoke (or mist) at the bottom of the hill, with no

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[270] See Goodman, *Rubens: The Garden of Love*; for the painting's influence on Watteau, Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.68-70. Geoffrey Squire reads the relationship between the paintings as exemplifying the shift from baroque to rococo; see Squire, *Dress, Art and Society 1560-1970* (London: Studio Vista, 1974), p.105.

[271] Adhémar, 'A propos de Claude Audran', p.1; Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, p.63.

[272] Posner, *Antoine Watteau*, p.79.

practical explanation beyond (perhaps) the burning torches of the putti. Where repeated above the putto carrying the torch at far left, it merges into the mist hovering over the mirage-like landscape beyond. *Cythère* therefore arguably makes virtuosic use of nothingness as a device, referring only to itself. The fact that Watteau's 'pilgrims' are often felt to be progressing in the wrong direction—from right to left, rather than left to right—underscores this self-referentiality: the figures are literally turned in on themselves.[273] Catherine Cusset links this with the 'metaphysical' interpretation of pleasure in eighteenth-century libertinage.[274] However, Bruno Pons draws the link between Watteau's decorative work and 'the genre's preoccupation with [the kind of] change and emotional fluidity' later found in his easel paintings, and their interest in 'figures in various stages of erotic interest, infatuation, frustration and dejection'.[275] Read through the arabesque, *Cythère*'s 'pilgrimage' is a mental journey as much as a physical one, which invites its viewers to share in the kind of pleasurable looking facilitated by the 'journeying' of the arabesque, surprising turns from one element to the next, mediated through the curvilinear forms of the natural world. *Cythère* is a 'seductive' painting, in the sense of a painting that alternately promises and withholds, in the manner of the surprising, delightful landscape, but also as a painting that, like the arabesque, invites the viewer's imagination to wander pleasurably.

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[273] On reading the picture right to left, see Anita Brookner, *Watteau*, rev. edn (London: Hamlyn, 1971), p.16; Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, p.22 and de Tolnay, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"', p.98.

[274] Cusset, *No Tomorrow*, pp.15-40.

[275] Pons, in *History of Decorative Arts*, ed. Gruber, p.176.

Cross-Channel labyrinthine dances, 1700-38

I have discussed *Cythère* in relation to the eighteenth-century seductive landscape, both real and imagined. Reading the latter, I have linked the painting to Watteau's decorative work, suggesting that negative space is important to Watteau, and that *Cythère* invites its viewers' minds to wander through its twists and turns. This final section brings these ideas together, reading these intersections between seductive landscapes and pleasurable wandering as part of a broader early eighteenth-century tendency. I take two points of reference here: the topiary labyrinth, and the dance notation. This latter has been the basis of a discussion of Watteau by Sarah Cohen, who notes that '[the] constant interplay between body and line, nature and artifice, and contemporary fashion and mythology [in Watteau's paintings] would have amply stimulated audiences attuned to bodily movement as an end in itself'.[276] I extend her argument, suggesting that the 'artful' dance notation that she sees as the basis for Watteau's spatial arrangements is also a way of approaching seduction.

The Labyrinth at Versailles was begun c.1666, and finished in 1673-74, twenty years before its London equivalent at Hampton Court Palace.[277] By 1718, the year after *Cythère*, it was'[a]llow'd by all to be the noblest of its Kind in the World'.[278] Punctuated by thirty-nine illusory fountains, each illustrating one of Aesop's fables, it was guarded by a figure of Aesop himself, and a figure of Love (fig. 33) at the entrance. Though 'Amour' held a ball of string in his hand, an allusion to Theseus's maze-wanderings in search of the Minotaur, Ver-

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[276] Sarah R. Cohen, 'Watteau's Fête Galante and the Artful Body', in *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp.94-105 (p.95).

[277] On the labyrinth, see Berger, *Garden of the Sun King*, pp.29ff.

[278] Stephen Switzer, *Ichonographia Rustica; or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation…*, 2 vols (London: Printed for D Browne and others, 1718), II., p.220.

sailles's labyrinth was unusual in having no central goal.[279] The accompanying descriptive guide, authored by a founding member of Louis XIV's 'Petite Académie', Charles Perrault (1628-1703), described it as having 'une infinité de petites allées tellement mélées les unes dans les autres, qu'il est presque impossible de ne s'y pas égarer,'.[280] In these winding 'allées', walkers were literally aimless, proceeding via the deviations and missteps encapsulated by Perrault's term 's'égarer', glossed by the 1762 *Dictionanaire de l'Académie française* as '[s]'écarter de son chemin, se fourvoyer'.[281] The resulting sense of purposelessness is traceable in *Cythère*'s similarly changeable, languid, serpentine line. At the same time, this seduction was also linked to illusion—the animals depicted at the fountains being 'si bien désignez, qu'ils semblent estre dans l'action mesme qu'ils représentent'—and to Love itself, since, as Perrault had 'Amour' explain in an earlier, lengthier, guide, 'je suis moy-mesme un labyrinthe, où l'on s'égare facilement'.[282]

This geography does seem to have allowed for specifically amorous transgressions: Cohen argues that the Labyrinth offered Versailles's inhabitants one of several 'alluring pockets of disorder […] reserved for aristocratic pleasures and amorous engagement'.[283] For Perrault, the effect of its design was that 'ceux qui s'y perdent, p[euvent] se perdre agréablement', in

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[279] For European labyrinths before Versailles and after, see W. H. Matthews, *Mazes and Labyrinths: A General Account of their History and Developments* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), pp.110-36 and Penelope Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity Through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.107-13.

[280] [Charles Perrault], *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles* (Paris: De l'imprimerie royale, 1677), p.3. For the 'Petite Académie', see Berger, *Garden of the Sun King*, pp.7-19.

[281] 'S'égarer', *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1762, *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago), https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/navigate/8/12241/ [accessed 9 February 2017].

[282] [Perrault], *Labyrinthe*, p.4; Perrault, 'Le Labyrinthe de Versailles', in *Recueil de divers ouvrages en prose et en vers, par M. Perrault…* (Paris: Chez Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1676), p.236.

[283] Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body*, p.109.

which account pleasure inhered in the journey, not the destination.[284] In 1704, the agronomist Louis Liger (1658-1717) demonstrated a similar interest in the complex, frequently frustrated journey over the goal itself, arguing that 'les Labyrinthes les plus estimés, sont toûjours ceux qui s'impliquent les plus, tel qu'est celui de Versailles'.[285]

At the same time, Perrault's allegorical formulation allows for a conflation of physical and psychological 'égarements', which was also a feature of contemporary discussions of desire. Thus, for La Rochefoucauld, echoing his metaphor of love as a sea-voyage, while, in pursuing a desired object, 'on veut faire des progès', the happiness thereby obtained 'est rarement de longue durée […] pour avoir ce que nous avons souhaité, nous ne laissons pas de souhaiter encore'.[286] For James Grantham Turner, meanwhile, Molière's *Dom Juan*, with his endless seductions, 'reveals the self-cancelling quality of the libertine pursuit […] unless it is thwarted, it must inevitably—indeed methodically—lead to a linguistic and emotional vacuum'.[287] In the early eighteenth century, and in Crébillon *fils*'s significantly-titled *Les Égarements du cœur et de l'esprit*, the marquise de Lursay similarly reminds her lover that 'vous cesseriez de sentir un goût pour celle qui vous en aurait inspiré le plus, dans l'instant qu'elle vous offrirait une conquête aisée'.[288] These characterisations imagine seduction as an empty activity, whose pleasure, like that of the labyrinth, is only in the journey. They also offer an-

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[284] [Perrault], *Labyrinthe*, p.3.

[285] Louis Liger, *Le Jardinier fleuriste et histoiographie…*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1708), II., p.619. Liger's text was translated into English by François Gentil, *Le Jardinier solitaire… also the Compleat Florist* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1706).

[286] La Rochefoucauld, *Réflexions diverses*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Martin-Chauffier, pp.514-16 (p.515) ('De l'amour et de la vie').

[287] James Grantham Turner, 'Lovelace and the Paradoxes of Libertinism', in *Samuel Richardson: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.70-88 (p.80).

[288] Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, *Les Égarements du cœur et de l'esprit* [1736-8] in *Romans Libertins du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Raymond Trousson (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1993), pp.3-161 (p.30).

other perspective on *Cythère*'s apparent self-referentiality, its turning in on itself, while recalling the comtesse de la Suze's description of the reluctant boat-traveller, caught between the 'envie d'arriver' and the pleasure of the 'Vaisseau' itself: outdoor wanderings necessitate these difficult choices. Indeed, is precisely this tension between the 'envie d'arriver' and the 'Vaisseau' that forms the narrative focus of *Cythère*, as its pilgrims move gradually towards the boat that will carry them off.

These writers characterise geography as both literal and psychological. For Perrault the labyrinth speaks of the 'égarements' of love; just as, for Thomas Brown, Vauxhall is a space through which lovers lead each other 'astray'. This provides a different angle on John Dixon Hunt's suggestion that the English eighteenth-century garden reflected its owners' engagement with John Locke (1632-1704), so that 'the landscape garden became an exciting new territory for meditation and introspection'.[289] In these readings, the mind and the space through which its owner moves are conflated, suggesting that, in fact, these 'labyrinthine' spaces indicate an equal interest in psychology or interiority. This psychological focus is itself intimately linked with the 'leading astray' of seduction (as highlighted in my Introduction) and it reflects *Cythère*'s interest in the stages through which a courting couple might move, in turn shown to play out primarily through their configuration in space.

In 1712, the English choreographer and dance theorist John Weaver (1673-1760) speculated on the ancient origins of dance, arguing that it was closely linked to the cultural history of the labyrinth. 'There is an Account,' he said, 'that *Theseus* being driven on the Coast of *Delos*, from *Crete,* taught the Boys and Youths a *Dance,* which represented the Mazes of the Labyrinth; in which the several Circles were intangled in each other; and this they perform'd

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[289] John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989), p.xii.

before the Altar.[290] The claimed link between dancing and the religious rites of the ancients is fitting given Weaver's stated purpose to put his art on a footing comparable to other creative arts. This was a point of cross-Channel competition. By 1712, Weaver felt able to argue that 'common dancing' had recently reached such a pitch of excellence that 'the *English* do not only excel the *Ancients*, but also all *Europe*, in the Beauty of their *Address*'.[291] However, over a decade later the French dancing master Pierre Rameau (1674-1748) was still asserting, firmly, that 'Nous pouvons dire à la gloire de notre Nation, qu'elle a le veritable goût de la belle Danse.'[292] Rameau had the historic interest of royalty behind him. A prolific dancer himself, Louis XIV had founded the Académie Royale de Danse in 1661, whereas England's dance training was based on private patronage.[293]

However, Weaver's link between dance and movement through a labyrinth is apposite in the light of the publication, twelve years earlier, of Raoul-Auger Feuillet's *Chorégraphie*, a treatise that sought to notate 'le Chemin'; that is, 'la ligne sur laquelle on dance'.[294] Feuillet's notations (fig. 34), developed and expanded by Rameau in his *Abrégé de la nouvelle méthode* of 1725 (fig. 35), provided a 'map' across the dance floor, intricate twists and turns that resembled nothing so much as a maze, albeit one through which dancing couples might

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[290] John Weaver, *An Essay towards an History of Dancing…* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1712), pp.14-15.

[291] Weaver, *History of Dancing*, p.169. For English developments in dance in this period, see Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, 'Ballet in England, 1660-1740', in *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740*, ed. Kyrle Fletcher, Selma Jeanne Cohen and Robert Lonsdale (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), pp.5-20.

[292] Pierre Rameau, *Le Maître à danser…* (Paris: Chez Jean Villette, 1725), p.ix.

[293] Moira Goff, '"The Art of Dancing, Demonstrated by Characters and Figures": French and English Sources for Court and Theatre Dance, 1700-1750', *The British Library Journal*, 21:2 (Autumn, 1995), 202-31 (p.202); Jennifer Thorp, 'Your Honor'd and Obedient Servant: Patronage and Dance in London, c.1700-1735', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 15:2 (Winter, 1997), 84-98 (pp.84-86).

[294] Raoul-Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie, ou l'art de décrire la dance par caractères…* (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1700), p.4. For Feuillet's treatise and dispute with Beauchamp, see Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style, 1690-1725*, ed. Caroline Gaynor (London: Dance Books, 1981), p.45 and *passim*.

come together, and move apart. One of his English imitators was the dancing master Kellom Tomlinson (c.1690-1753), whose *Art of Dancing Explained* was first published in 1726 and went through several editions, before apparently being undercut by the inveterate plagiarist George Bickham Junior.[295] Hogarth reproduced his own variants on the system in Plate 2 of *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753).[296]

In contrast to Feuillet, Tomlinson (fig. 36) provided the dance steps at an angle, as if they were actually printed on the dance floor—a twist on the arabesque form emblematised by Watteau's *L'Enjôleur*, which juxtaposes the naturalistic perspective of the couple with the flat depiction of the foliage. Indeed, the dance notations Tomlinson uses were originally intended to be seen from above. His decision to deviate from this makes his instructions, practically, harder for the dancer to interpret, but also creates a similarly disorientating use of space to the one already discussed in *Cythère*, which brings the arabesque into easel painting. Like Watteau's pilgrims, Tomlinson's dancing couple are shown to move, to have moved, or to be about to move, through a sequence of motions. Here, that sequence is (ostensibly) not so much aesthetic as instructional, reflecting a sense that such illustration contributed to dance training in general. Tomlinson's work also built on established practices from Rameau's *Le Maître à danser*, translated in 1728 by John Essex (c.1680-1744), generally identified as the dancing master in Plate 1 of Hogarth's *Analysis*.[297] However, his changes also complicate his works' status as purely diagrammatic creations.

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[295] Goff, '"Art of Dancing"', p.213.

[296] See William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson ([1753] New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), p.155, fn.122-3. For dance in the *Analysis*, see Annie Richardson, 'An Aesthetics of Performance: Dance in Hogarth's "Analysis of Beauty"', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 20:2 (Winter, 2002), 38-87 and Mary Klinger Lindberg, 'A Delightful Play upon the Eye': William Hogarth and Theatrical Dance', *Dance Chronicle*, 4:1 (1981), 19-45.

[297] Paulson, *Hogarth*, III., p.112; Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.147, 6-7fn.

The primacy of progress in these works makes it fitting that dancing itself was often touted as a seduction tool, a practical result of the point that (as noted by Karen Woods) 'the floor of the ballroom was one of the few acceptable arenas for the introduction of young men and women'.[298] Weaver argued additionally that the '*Assurance*, or *handsome Confidence*, deriv'd from *Dancing*, is […] a considerable Advantage, and an absolutely necessary Qualification, with regard to the *Fair'* since 'that *handsom Confidence*, which proceeds from the same Cause, pushes that Advantage over a Heart that is shook'.[299] Indeed, as Weaver went on to argue in his *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures on Dancing*, dance's seductive potential was a visual equivalent to the persuasive powers of language, since 'the *Dancer,* as well as the *Orator,* allures the Eye, and invades the Mind of the Spectator'.[300] The dance-like qualities of *Cythère*'s unfurling line, similarly demonstrating a progress from persuasion to fulfilment, are seductive in themselves.

The distinction between refined, socially acceptable courtship behaviour and more problematic seduction is encapsulated in Watteau's *La Proposition embarrassante* (fig. 37). A young man addresses his companion, but has previously been described as dancing a minuet, 'la danse la plus en usage' during the early eighteenth century, and the source of the

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[298] Karen Woods, 'A Chaste Seduction: Women and Social Dance in Eighteenth-century England', in *Border Crossings: Dance and Boundaries in Society, Politics, Gender, Education and Technology*, ed. Linda J. Tomko (Riverside, CA: Society of Dance History Scholars, 1995), pp.99-107 (p.99). On dance and courtship, see also Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, 'A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-century England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2002), pp.109-34.

[299] John Weaver, *An Essay towards an History of Dancing…* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1712), pp.25-26.

[300] John Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures on Dancing…* (London: Printed for J. Brotherton and W. Meadows, 1721), p.144.

painting's alternative title, *Le Menuet*.[301] This duality implies parallel identities: the painting could depict the smooth performance of a courtly dance accompanied by guitars, or of a social *faux pas* (literally, 'false step'). The dancing (or travelling) metaphor is appropriate, since *embarras* was given in the 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* as 'rencontre de plusieurs choses qui s'empeschent les unes les autres dans un chemin, dans un passage'.[302] If Watteau's painting is read as a 'proposition embarrassante', it implies a 'blockage' or 'obstruction' along a 'chemin'. If read, conversely, as a 'minuet', it speaks of the smooth progress of aristocratic love; bodies moving around and between each other in elegant, indeed serpentine sequence. The metaphor recalls Cohen's argument that aristocratic movements through Versailles's labyrinth themselves echoed the steps of a dance.[303] Indeed, she extends the theme of the minuet to suggest that the dance's broad serpentine movement may also be the underlying logic of *Cythère,* which she dubs 'a "minuet" for sixteen or twenty-two women and men'.[304]

However, either interpretation remains possible because the expressions of the main actors are illegible. The woman might be smiling, but the line indicating her mouth intersects with her cheek so as to leave this uncertain. The backward tilt of her head may suggest a recoil, or might provide the momentum for an upcoming step forwards. In any case, if there is indeed a 'proposition embarrassante' in the painting, it is either in the process of being spoken, or has just been physically attempted: in contrast to the enthusiastic seducer of Hog-

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[301] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 39, pp.340-41 (p.340); Rameau, *Maître à danser*, p.76. For the eighteenth-century minuet, see also Belinda Quirey, 'Minuet: the Beginning of the End', *The Ballroom Dancing Times*, VI:8 (May, 1961), 406-8 and 'Minuet—the End of an Era', *The Ballroom Dancing Times*, VI:10 (July, 1961), 518-21; Jennifer Thorp, 'In defence of danced minuets', *Early Music*, 31:1 (February, 2003), 100-4+106-8 and Tardif, 'Social Dance', pp.84-94.

[302] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694, *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago), http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=embarras [accessed 9 February 2017].

[303] Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body*, p.109.

[304] Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body*, p.238.

arth's *Before*, the man's body does not come into contact with his companion. Indeed, as with the 'égarements' of the labyrinth, it is this absence that supplies the drama.

I have suggested that each of these works plays with a sense of 'absence' or emptiness that is closely tied to the 'progress' of seduction. Watteau's particular choice of setting gives further context for that absence. As Orest Ranum points out, the historical walled garden offered 'reminders not only of life's fragility but of the death of Christ' through its 'solitude […] the passage of time and season, and the fading of flowers'.[305] Oliver Banks goes further, highlighting how, in the Northern seventeenth-century tradition, such love gardens might also become 'allegor[ies] of the vanity of worldly pleasures'.[306] The historic connection between the garden and death is emphasised in *Cythère* by the additional element of the sea-voyage, both a reminder of the Classical passage to the Underworld, and still, practically, a risky undertaking in the eighteenth century. It is interesting, then, that Jan Ostrowski should have read *Cythère* itself—at least the Paris version—as a 'danse macabre', a view given added weight by the dead tree juxtaposed with the boat at bottom left.[307] This reading has received more recent support from Nils Büttner's observation that the leftmost couple of Rubens's *Garden of Love* derive from *The Noblewoman and Death*, from Hans Holbein the Younger's *Dance of Death* series (1523-25).[308] In the context of the love garden, the 'vacuum' at the heart

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[305] Orest Ranum 'Refuges of Intimacy' in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Chartier, p.213.

[306] Banks, *Watteau and the North*, pp.159-63.

[307] Ostrowski, 'Pellegrinaggio a Citera'.

[308] Nils Büttner, 'The Basics: Copying and Interpreting', in *Rubens: The Power of Transformation*, eds. Gruber, Gerlinde, Sabine Haag, Stefan Weppelmann and Jochen Sander (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2018) pp.127-29. The comparison is illustrated as cats. 4-6, pp.134-5.

of the libertine pursuit, or the lightness that pervades both *Cythère* and the illusionistic arabesque, is identifiable specifically as death.[309]

Conclusion

Pierre Saint-Amand describes how '[t]he seducer points us towards the royal road of desire, but he places himself jealously on the horizon, like a beacon, both shimmering mirage and obstacle'.[310] The description imagines the seducer as a figure waiting on a road, creating the sort of 'embarrass' perhaps implied in Watteau's *Proposition embarrassante*. This chapter began from the idea that Watteau's *fêtes galantes*, particularly *Cythère*, interpret seduction as a progress through space, whether from Paris to a rural (and perhaps imagined) Arcadia, or from initial persuasion to union. However, eighteenth-century discussions of landscape also moved fluidly between the real and the imagined, and the outdoor settings of Watteau's *fêtes galantes* could be appropriated for metaphorical ends. Landscapes might become sexualised bodies, territories for negotiation and dispute. It is therefore fitting that Watteau should repeat compositional devices and approaches from his earlier military paintings, and that, as Robert Tomlinson has suggested, it is possible to see sexualised clues throughout the canvas, recalling the more explicitly bawdy devices both of the fair theatres and of Watteau's arabesques.

Indeed, the arabesque is the compositional and thematic ancestor of Watteau's *Cythère*, and this chapter has extended existing discussions by Crow and Tomlinson, reiterating the importance of Watteau's early decorative work to his later *fêtes galantes*, specifically

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[309] For a discussion of death and illusionism, see Jean Baudrillard, 'The Trompe-l'Œil', in *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*, ed. Norman Bryson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.53-62 (pp.56-57).

[310] Pierre Saint-Amand, *The Libertine's Progress: Seduction in the Eighteenth-century French Novel*, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (Hanover; London: Brown University Press, 1994), p.9.

its qualities of weightlessness, fluidity and temporality. The acanthus-like serpentine lines that run through *Cythère*, inviting the eye to wander through another kind of cultivated natural setting, call attention to the subjectivity of such imaginative movement, and to the resultant surprise and delight the viewer might expect here. These experiences are akin to Peter Brooks's description of 'reading for the plot', a desire he connects with the 'death drive' of Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1922): narrative is 'a form of desire that carries us forward, onward, through the text'.[311] In moving forward through this narrative, Brooks argues, the reader ultimately seeks the end of the story, just as Freud's subject craves the finality of death.[312]

However, the experiences of moving through acanthus lines also reflect discussions of the landscape garden, where walkers were similarly 'seduced' by the unseen hand of the gardener, and led through an intriguing, winding path. As later described by Hogarth, such 'intricate' forms '*lea[d] the eye a wanton kind of chace*', inviting it to relish the progress, rather than (necessarily) anticipating the destination.[313] Such ideas of pleasurable intricacy and complexity took on a new significance in devices such as the dance notation, and the outdoor labyrinth, evidence of a broader understanding of seductive 'progress' in the period as a whole. Here, negative space can be a space of creativity and excitement: in the acanthus-framed *locus amoenus*, seduction is all about the journey, just as the comtesse de La Suze's travellers bask in the enjoyment of the boat carrying them to Saint-Cloud. However, the precedent of Rubens suggests another, more anxious, reason for such luxuriating: just as the final steps of a dance, or a promenade, bring the experience to a close, death lurks in the gar-

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311 Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative*, rev. edn (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp.37.

312 Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, p.103.

313 Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.33.

den; the ever-threatened conclusion of its seductive 'progress'. It is therefore significant that Démoris should have argued for a certain latitude in such spaces: the rural environment is particularly suited to seduction, he suggests, because, here, 'l'amour a le temps de devenir un sentiment et d'atteindre un certain degré d'intensité, c'est-à-dire de qualité'.[314] There is time in the country, he suggests, as there is not in the city. The next chapter starts from rural seduction's temporal implications, discussing Hogarth's explicitly time-based (and time-limited) *Before* and *After*.

[314] Démoris, 'Fêtes Galantes', 341.

CHAPTER TWO

'The thickest part of the grove':

Hogarth's *Before* and *After*

Before and *After* (figs. 38-41) are apparently early iterations of what would become Hogarth's 'Progress' form.[315] As such, they reflect a line of thought that ran counter to the recommendations of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury. In 1711, Shaftesbury had argued that a history painting ('where not only *Men*, but *Manners*, and human Passions are represented') should be a 'tableau', a French word 'for which we have yet no name in *English*' (besides Shaftesbury's own suggestion, 'Tablature') denoting a work that is 'in reality "*a Single Piece*, comprehended in one *View* […] which constitutes a *real* WHOLE ["]', in contrast to 'those wilder sorts of Painting […] the Paintings in *Fresco* upon the Walls, the Cielings [sic] […] and other remarkable Places either of Churches or Palaces'.[316]

Divided into two 'tablatures', *Before* and *After* are just this type of 'wilder' painting, as *Cythère*, with its single support, is not. Pendant pictures, multiple works that (in Harry Berger's words) 'depend on and lean towards the other', always call attention to their own

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[315] For the two versions of *Before* and *After* as proto-Progresses, see Robert S. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p.5 and David Bindman, *Hogarth*, 2nd edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), pp.42-43. For their relationship with the *Harlot*, see David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1973), p.302.

[316] Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Treatise VII: A Notion of the historical Draught or Tablature, of the Judgment of Hercules* [1711] in *Shaftesbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper), Standard Edition*, ed. Wolfram Benda, Wolfgang Lottes, Friedrich A. Uehlein and Erwin Wolff, 11 vols (Stuttgart-Bad: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 2001), I., pp.70-151 (p.74). On the 'tablature' in France, see, amongst others, Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1980), p.89.

fractured nature, the space between the frames, and thereby to the context in which they hang.[317] Though not directly mounted in a room, like the purpose-designed arabesque, they still require the viewer to interact with the space in which they are displayed.[318] They therefore address space itself more explicitly than can the single-support *tableau*. The previous chapter argued that this address to space is particularly suggestive in the context of Hogarth's contemporaneous involvement with Vauxhall Gardens, the 'dark walks' of which, allowing people to disappear from view, are a geographic equivalent to the omitted panel between the Fitzwilliam *Before* and *After*. However, while Hogarth's 'outdoor' pendants in particular respond to the seductive context of the outdoor pleasure garden, their titles highlight that their 'progress' is temporal as much as geographic.

Indeed, more than a simple riposte to the 'tableau', *Before* and *After* can also be viewed as Hogarth's response to Shaftesbury's discussion of pictorial time, which advised the history painter to pay attention to the 'moment' he chooses to depict.[319] Taking the classical example of Hercules's choice between Virtue and Pleasure, Shaftesbury recommended that the artist depict the instant where the hero 'agonizes, and with all his Strength of Reason endeavours to overcome himself'.[320] By juxtaposing the 'Ascendancy' of the current passion with the 'Footsteps' of the previous, the painter could capture a sequence of events, without showing the same character at multiple moments. Watteau's solution to this same problem

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[317] Harry Berger, *Manhood, Marriage and Mischief: Rembrandt's 'Night Watch' and other Dutch Group Portraits* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), pp.147-62 (pp.148-49).

[318] For a discussion of the role of the frame in establishing a painting's 'perspective unity', see Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.56-57.

[319] Shaftesbury, *Treatise VII*, p.76.

[320] Shaftesbury, *Treatise VII*, p.78.

falls between these possibilities, his multiple couples representing different stages of a seduction. *Before* and *After*, by contrast, reject Shaftesbury's advice entirely.

This chapter argues that what *Before* and *After* have to say to Shaftesbury relates to what they have to say about seduction. The progress of time, central to Shaftesbury's thesis, had profound implications for the lived experience and representation of sexual seduction during this period, primarily in England, when understanding what had happened when (and in what order) was essential for explaining the relationship that had existed between a couple in dispute. Moreover, while landscape theorists were emphasising the seductions of progression through space, the years 1660-1760 also saw parallel scientific developments in the measurement of time; a 'horological revolution' that Peter Wagner considers profoundly affected how the eighteenth century conceptualised both time and duration.[321] Hogarth calls attention to the latter by moving his own representation of seduction between 'outdoor' and 'indoor', in the process refocusing attention onto the issue of 'speed', and thereby raising the question of the distinction between consensual 'seduction' and violent 'rape'.

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[321] Peter Wagner, 'Representations of Time in Hogarth's Paintings and Engravings', in *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, ed. David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée and Peter Wagner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.102-22. See also Matt Hunter, 'Time and the Baroque World', in Larry F. Norman, *The Theatrical Baroque* (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2001), pp.48-57.

I discuss all six images from the *Before* and *After* series here, but start from Hogarth's 'outdoor' paintings.[322] These have been comparatively less discussed, perhaps because their outdoor setting seems less 'Hogarthian' than later, urban, primarily indoor works, such as the *Before* and *After* engravings (figs. 49-50), and the 'Modern Moral Subjects', pictures which, as William Hazlitt (1778-1830) observed, 'breathe a certain close, greasy, tavern air'.[323] Indeed, scholars usually assume the Fitzwilliam paintings share the ironic tone of Fielding's later address to the *fête galante* in *Tom Jones*.[324] While Robin Simon considers them to play upon 'decorous *pastorale*', Michael Rosenthal dubs them 'parodies' of that tradition.[325] I continue to consider them in this French context here, but, without arguing for them as 'straight'

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[322] The 'indoor' engravings are the most discussed of the three, notably by Peter Wagner: Wagner, 'Representations of Time in Hogarth's Paintings and Engravings', in *Hogarth*, ed. Bindman, Ogée and Wagner, pp. 102-22 (p.111); Wagner, 'Spotting the Symptoms: Hogarthian Bodies as Sites of Semantic Ambiguity', in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.12-119; Wagner, 'Eighteenth-century Sexual "Mentalités" in William Hogarth's Graphic Art', in *State, Science and Modernization in England from the Renaissance to Modern Times: Herborn Symposion 1990*, ed. Jürgen Klein (Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1994), pp.190-221 (pp. 203-13); Wagner, *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1988), pp.276-77. See also Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.91-92 and Jean-Maurice Bizière, '"Before and after" Essai de psycho-histoire', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (1954-)*, 27:2 (April - June, 1980), 177-207; Frederick Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp.41, 95, 171-72. On the 'before and after' device across Hogarth's work, see Ogée, 'L'Œil erre', pp. 62-63, 71-73. For the paintings, see Mark Hallett and Christine Riding, *Hogarth* (London: Tate, 2007), pp.130-135 and Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cats., 39-42, pp.77-80. For the outdoor paintings, see Ronald Paulson, *The Art of Hogarth* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), p.43 and *Hogarth*, I., pp.218-22. Paulson gives the 'outdoor' paintings' provenance incorrectly; see my forthcoming article in the *Burlington Magazine* (in press).

[323] William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* (London: Printed for Taylor and Hessey, 1819), p.283. On indoor and confined spaces in Hogarth's work, see Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948), pp.18-19; Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth: His Art and His World* (London: Hart-Davis; MacGibbon, 1977), p.57; Paulson, *Art of Hogarth*, pp.9, 11-12.

[324] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, pp.95, 171-72; Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.90-91; David Bindman, *Hogarth*, 2nd edn (London, 1988), pp.48-49.

[325] Michael Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough: A Little Business for the Eye* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.130; Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, p.92; Wagner, 'Sexual "Mentalités"', in *State*, ed. Klein, pp.190-221 (pp.204-5).

iterations of the English Watteauesque, I want to suggest that their allusion to the spatial context of the outdoor *fête galante* is part of their engagement with 'outdoor' seduction itself. Conversely, while the French accent of Hogarth's 'outdoor' *Before* and *After* is rarely connected with their interest in time, Watteau's ur-*fête galante*, *Cythère*, is often discussed in temporal terms.[326] The second half of this chapter re-reads this Watteau 'through' *Before* and *After* to revisit its address to time in the specific context of outdoor seduction. Through a comparison with the small painting *Le Faux-pas* (fig. 51), I argue that Watteau's representations of seduction—like Hogarth's—call attention to issues of time, duration and mutuality, contrasting the 'grabbing man' with the careful, persuasive one.

Sexual seduction in France and England, 1660-1753

In eighteenth-century courts, 'seduction' implied a breakdown in normal sexual relationships between men and women and, in many cases, in their relationship to the patriarchal family. Legal cases existed for breach of promise, where a man had failed to conclude an expected marriage, but also 'criminal conversation' (adultery), or aggravated trespass.[327] Indeed, as Edward Christian noted in 1794, 'no action can be maintained for the seduction of a daughter which is not attended with a loss of service or an injury to property': seduction

[326] For the engravings' afterlife in France, see Patricia Mainardi, 'Hogarth "Corrected": Modern Moral Subjects in France', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Cynthia Ellen Roman (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.143-61 (pp.152-59).

[327] For the legal status of eighteenth-century seduction, see Julia Rudolph, 'Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-century English Legal and Political Thought', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:2 (April, 2000), 157-84. Toni Bowers gives a detailed analysis of a 1683 case in *Force or Fraud? British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.103ff. Analogous cases are discussed in in Leah Leneman, 'Seduction in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-century Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 78:205, Part 1 (April, 1999), 39-59 and Abigail Dyer, 'Seduction by Promise of Marriage: Law, Sex and Culture in Seventeenth-century Spain', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34:2 (Summer, 2003), 439-55.

crystallised around perceived injuries done to husbands or fathers, and could not be seen outside this structural context.[328]

In common parlance, however, 'seduction' usually meant the sort of story reported in the *London Daily Post* for 1735: 'a young Woman […] having been debauched by a young Fellow, under Pretence of Marriage, and being with Child, poison'd herself'.[329] The woman's allegation of a 'Pretence of Marriage' claimed the right to define the 'debauch'. If the 'Pretence' had been made, the crime was not illegitimate 'fornication', but instead (semi-)legitimate intercourse between a courting couple: the seducer perhaps having 'urged that […] every Thing being agreed upon, they were in Fact Man and Wife, and might as lawfully enjoy the Sweets of Marriage, as if the Priest had performed his idle Part'.[330] While not exactly licit, such pre-marital sex was apparently often tacitly accepted in practice, the subsequent marriage (the 'after') serving retrospectively to legitimise what happened 'before'.[331]

In the event of a 'seduction', this 'Pretence of Marriage' might also be advanced as evidence of the seducer's flattering speech; 'smooth Tales, which like the *Syren's* Songs, lead to Destruction'.[332] The provincial excise officer, John Cannon (1684-1743), left an account of

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[328] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 12th edn, rev. Edward Christian, 4 vols (London: Printed by A. Strahan and W. Woodfall, 1794), III., pp.142-43, 13fn.

[329] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Monday 21 July, 1735, f.p.

[330] *The Universal Journal*, Thursday 26 December, 1723, f.p.

[331] Martin Ingram, 'The Reform of Popular Culture? Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England', in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-century England*, ed. Barry Reay (London; Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.129-65 (pp. 146-47). See also Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.134-39. Tim Hitchcock argues for a re-definition of sex itself during this period; see 'Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (Spring, 1996), 72-90. This is not to say that pre-marital sex was unproblematic: see Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.37ff.

[332] [Anonymous], *Woman Triumphant: Or, the Excellency of the Female Sex…* (London: Printed and sold by Charles Stokes, 1721), p.xii.

his attempted seduction of a companion, Joanna, when 'being somewhat intoxicated in liquor […] I put my hands under her coats to her knees', but also 'us[ed] some alluring words, [telling] her if I offered or did her any injury, I would repair it with sufficient satisfaction'.[333] The elaborate gestures of Hogarth's seducer in *Before* (fig. 38) similarly underscore rhetorical prowess. Like Cannon, this man apparently promises good faith, laying his hand upon his heart as he inclines his mouth to her ear. Her reaction to this gesture is ambiguous, her raised hand possibly blocking out his words, but also prefiguring the action of Princess Amelia in Philippe Mercier's *The Music Party* (fig. 42), whose raised hand emphasises her attention to the unheard yet 'harmonious' music the family share.[334] Perhaps Hogarth's woman, like her seducer, wants to seize this opportunity: Joanna (as Cannon reported) '[on] seeing my resolved design, thought now the critick time to make all sure'—that is, to extract an undertaking of marriage.[335] Cannon's 'critick time' recalls Shaftesbury's 'determinate Date or Point of Time': seduction, like painting, hinges on the right moment—and, in some cases, such 'moments' materially shift the power dynamic between men and women.

However, once secured, the promise of marriage could bring complications. Though, as Thomas Salmon wrote in 1724, '[t]he common Law does not esteem a Couple […] to be so far Man and Wife, as to give either Party any Interest or Property in the other's Lands or Goods […] until the Marriage be solemniz'd according to the Rites of the Church of England', the established tradition of 'spousals', or marriages 'per verba de praesenti' allowed scope for ambiguity, or at least wishful thinking.[336] Conversely, the 1753 Marriage Act

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[333] John Cannon *The Chronicles of John Cannon Excise Officer and Writing Master*, ed. John Money, 2 vols ([1684-1743] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), I., p.88.

[334] See Stephen Jones, 'Frederick Prince of Wales', in *Rococo*, ed. Hind, pp.106-112 (p.109).

[335] Cannon, *Chronicles*, I., p.89.

[336] [Thomas Salmon], *A Critical Essay Concerning Marriage…* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1724), p.180; for marriages *per verba de praesenti*, pp.184-88.

formalised the requirements of canon law, and de-legitimised any marriage not conforming to its strictures.[337] Precisely how drastic this was is unclear; spousals themselves had long been on the decline (though 'clandestine' marriages were on the increase), and Rebecca Probert has demonstrated that the majority of couples in the period up to 1753 did comply with canon law.[338]

However, though Probert's work suggests that eighteenth-century marriages may have been moving towards standardisation, seduction arose at precisely the points at which such formalities broke down. The theory established by writers such as Henry Swinburne that 'no Promise of any future Act, but a present and perfect Consent […] alone maketh Matrimony', provided justification for unorthodox unions undertaken in the heat of the moment, which were easy to call into question afterwards.[339] In 1706, Cannon recorded an amorous adventure with another woman, Mary, for whom he produced 'two papers written verbatim by myself before contrived wherein was contained strong resolutions severe & binding promises & compact part & counterpart to be constant to each other in life & death as it were binding in the presence of the all seeing God'.[340] He was insistent that, despite this pledge, 'we never carnally nor criminally knew each other', and both he and Mary subsequently

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[337] On the Marriage Act, see Probert, *Marriage Law*, pp.206-313 and Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.121-28. Criticisms of the Act are discussed in Eve Tavor Bannet, 'The Marriage Act of 1753: "A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex"', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 30:3 (Spring, 1997), 233-54 and Belinda Meteyard, 'Illegitimacy and Marriage in Eighteenth-century England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 10:3 (Winter, 1980), 479-89.

[338] Probert, *Marriage Law*, pp.1-2, which disputes Stone, *Road to Divorce*, pp.67-120. For the distinction between 'clandestine' and 'common-law' marriages and 'spousals', see Adair, *Courtship*, pp.140-44, and on their rise and fall during the early eighteenth century, Ingram, 'Reform of Popular Culture?', in *Popular Culture*, ed. Raey, pp.143-46. For marriage regulation 1604-1700, see Chris Durston, '"Unhallowed Wedlocks': The Regulation of Marriage during the English Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 31:1 (March, 1988), 45-59.

[339] Henry Swinburne, *A Treatise of Spousals, or Matrimonial Contracts…* (London: Printed by S. Roycroft for Robert Clavell, 1686), p.14.

[340] Cannon, *Chronicles*, I., pp.62-63.

married elsewhere. Although their legal cases were flimsy, many women who did engage in pre-marital sex in such circumstances apparently still felt able to argue they had done so under false pretences. In 1722, a Montpellier murder case was reported in London, where a woman had demanded that her sister's seducer fulfil his alleged promise of marriage, upon which request being refused, 'she made no Reply, but Shot him in the Head'.[341]

Unlike this comparatively complex system of marriage in England, Catholic France had had a well-established and well-enforced form of wedlock since the 1563 Council of Trent: a single service; the reading of banns, and the mandatory involvement of a priest and church. The contrast was emphasised by François Maximilian Mission, who noted on his 1698 visit to England that '[e]n Angleterre, un Garçon se peut marier à quatorze ans, & une Fille à douze, malgré Parens & Tuteurs'. All they needed besides a priest was 'les deux premieres personnes rencontrées' as witnesses and 'deux Ecus'.[342] In France, formalised marriage was understood as the natural result of courtship, during which process 'it was perceived as normal for a man to desire a woman and equally normal for her to resist his advances'.[343]

Seduction therefore represented courtship's failure, the man having neglected his side of an assumed contract. If an unmarried woman proved to be pregnant, French courts (unlike English ones) accepted that the alleged father must have promised marriage, since 'in order for a seduction to succeed, the victim must believe in the good faith of the seducer'.[344] As the French lawyer, Michel Fournel put it later, the woman's 'titre' was *not* the result of her pregnancy: 'la grossesse n'est que le témoignage de la convention antérieure faite entre les

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[341] *Freeholder's Journal*, Wednesday 28 March, 1722, f.p.

[342] [François Maximilian Mission], *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre…* (Paris: À la Haye, chez Henri van Bulderen, 1698), pp.295-96, 297.

[343] Nicholas Mirzoeff, '"Seducing our Eyes": Gender, Jurisprudence and Visuality in Watteau', *The Eighteenth Century*, 35:2 (1994), 135-54 (p.140).

[344] Mirzoeff, '"Seducing our Eyes"', p.143.

parties'.[345] Building this 'faith' took time, and its inevitable temptations underlay Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) warning to English couples in 1727 that, while 'Signing a Writing, and depositing an Earnest, or part of the Money, gives a Man a Right to the Estate he has thus purchased', he must 'have the Deeds fairly executed, sign'd seal'd and delivered, and Livery and Seisin given in Form, before he can receive the Rents, and before he can take Possession of the Land, or the Tenants own him for their Landlord'.[346]

Defoe's language, so legalistic as to occlude his subject, emphasises that any 'signing' should be within established (and establishment) parameters. However, it also underlines the need for (further) patience, for taking one's time. Once secured through a man's long-standing attentions, the woman's consent must not anticipate the *proper* form of marriage.[347] This advice is not taken by Hogarth's seducer, whose leg penetrating his companion's skirt shows he is already moving from verbally requesting to physically taking, and signals his impatience; his desire to advance rather than to allow events to unfold. His eagerness is also signalled by his clothing, struggling to contain him. Exposed by the absence of the formal waistcoat, white linen protrudes through his blue suit, where Hogarth's brushstrokes deliberately model three-dimensional form, emphasising the physical body, in contrast to the looser, linear style of many contemporaneous French artists (including Watteau). Indeed, like Cannon, Hogarth's seducer uses physical gesture as well as words, prefiguring Hogarth's later comment that the figures in his pictures were 'by certain actions and gestures […to] exhibit a dumb show'.[348] This conflation of speech and gestures is indicated both by the sedu-

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[345] Michel Fournel, *Traité de la séduction considérée dans l'ordre judiciaire* (Paris: Chez Demonville, 1781), p.10.

[346] [Daniel Defoe], *Conjugal Lewdness; or Matrimonial Whoredom* (London: Printed for T. Warner, 1727), p.278.

[347] Ingram, 'Reform of Popular Culture?', pp.142-43.

[348] William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by Himself…* , ed. John Bowyer Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), p.9.

cer's leg, and his grip on his companion's wrist, a gesture traditionally demonstrative of a hierarchical relationship, and, even, in certain circumstances, imminent rape.[349]

However, the seducer's impatience reflects an inherent problem with any contract, not just the risky 'per verba de praesenti'. This is clear from French seduction cases, which demonstrate Thomas Hobbes's (1588-1679) warning of 1642 that 'it is not reasonable for anyone to make performance [of a contract] first if it is not likely that the other will perform his part later'.[350] For Hobbes, writing in the century before *Before* and *After*, the only secure contract is simultaneous exchange; once the first part of the agreement (for example, sexual capitulation) has been enacted, it is always in the other party's interest to break it.[351] Similarly, for Fournel, seduction hinged on *facio ut facias*: 'l'une des parties consent de faire une chose à condition que l'autre partie en fera une autre'.[352] Here, seduction's contractural failure is still temporal—reflecting the order in which steps are performed—but specifically calls attention to cause and effect. The woman capitulates believing she will initiate one outcome, but finds this leads to another. Many ensuing disagreements depended on establishing whether such a cause and effect had indeed been implied, and deciding on the nature of any 'contract' thereby assumed.

Just as seduction impacted on the patriarchal family structure within which eighteenth-century women existed, other structural conditions could impact on how such contracts were interpreted. A well-established trope, particularly in contemporaneous literature, was the attempt on the young and (frequently) rural working-class girl by the rakish man of

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[349] See Farah Karim-Cooper, *The Hand on the Shakespearean Stage: Gesture, Touch and the Spectacle of Dismemberment* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp.149-55.

[350] Thomas Hobbes, *On the Citizen*, ed. and trans. Richard Tuck and Michael Silverthorne ([1642] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.37.

[351] Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), p.57.

[352] Fournel, *Traité de la séduction*, p.10.

the world.[353] This is apparently Hogarth's story. In the outdoor location of *Before*, it is the woman, with her rustic mob cap, apron, separate bodice and skirt, who appears most at home.[354] We seem a long way from any obvious urban centre, and the landscape underlines both the seclusion of the setting, and the woman's own rustic, untutored nature. Conversely, the satin sheen of the man's blue suit suggests he is a gentleman, and an interloper: landowner, not land-worker, and therefore the kind of man of whom Jonas Hanway, on the point of establishing London's Magdalen House, complained twenty years later ('[w]here men are endowed with superior faculties, and possess all the advantages which education and fortune afford, if they will prostitute their *honor* to gratify their *appetite,* many will become their *prey*').[355] For the anonymous author of the 1721 *Woman Triumphant*, on the other hand, the imbalance between the sexes was a distinction of moral character, rather than education: between men who 'by their subtile Arguments dress up Vice in the Garb of Vertue', and 'we, not so deeply read in Deceit as they, [who] are unable to perceive the Fallacy'.[356]

These references to deceit by elite men are reflected in almost the only props Hogarth uses in the Fitzwilliam paintings, the apples falling from the woman's apron.'[B]y the same means which are employ'd to call to mind the Past, we may anticipate the Future,' Shaftesbury noted, and Hogarth follows him in *Before* by 'mak[ing] use of certain enigmatical or

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[353] For such situations, see Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-century Paris*, trans. Carol Shelton (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p.29.

[354] Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe, 1715-1789* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), p.34.

[355] [Jonas Hanway], *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen-House for Repentant Prostitutes…* (London: Printed by James Waugh, 1758), p.16. An almost identical sentiment is expressed as part of the same pamphlet discussion by Robert Dingley, *Proposals for Establishing a Public Place of Reception for Penitent Prostitutes &c.* (London: Printed by W. Faden, 1758), p.4.

[356] *Woman Triumphant*, pp.vi-vii.

emblematical Devises, to represent a future Time'.[357] The apples spilled by the woman's raised hand—another 'cause and effect', like *Before* and *After* themselves—signal that we only see part of a series of events. They indicate the next stages: a 'tumbling' to the ground; a 'tumble' in the word's slang sense ('to have sexual intercourse with'), and, presumably, the narrative cliché of a subsequent abandonment of the 'fallen' woman by the libertine man.[358] At the same time, they invite 'emblematical' comparison with the original 'outdoors' seduction, Eve's temptation by the serpent. Like Eve, Hogarth's woman hearkens to the words of a seducer, and the analogy backs up the contemporary view that (in the words of Defoe) in a seduction '[t]he Man is the Deceiver; he acts the Devil's Part every Way, he is the Tempter, and is party to the Crime'.[359] Defoe's implied link between seducer and Satan found fuller expression in Richardson's Lovelace, a Protean master of disguise and deception, who reports a maid unable to 'keep her eye from my foot; expecting, no doubt, every minute to see it discover itself to be cloven'.[360]

Lovelace follows on from Richardson's earlier 'Mr. B.' in *Pamela*; and a successful similar seduction by an upper-class man also inaugurates the 'fall' of Defoe's eponymous *Moll Flanders* (1722), whose 'young Gentleman' knew 'as well, how to catch a Woman in his Net as a Partridge'.[361] In her discussion of the popular 'seduction narrative' during this period, Katherine Binhammer describes how, in such formulaic stories, often aimed at educating

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[357] Shaftesbury, 'Treatise', pp.84, 82.

[358] *OED* [online], 'tumble, v', http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/207350?rskey=GRyUI3&result=2&isAdvanced=false [accessed 10 February, 2017], 9a.

[359] [Defoe], *Conjugal Lewdness*, p.289.

[360] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa; or the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross, rev. edn ([1747-8] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), pp.773.

[361] Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders…*, ed. David Blewett ([1722] London: Penguin, 1989), p.57.

their young readers, the woman's fall is usually 'based upon her belief in the primacy of the heart over other forms of knowing', since 'if she were to read the signs as signifying in terms of class status, she would interpret the aristocrat's vow of love as false'.[362] Here, the structural context affects the validity of the 'cause' and 'effect' implied by the seducer's efforts. Both seduced woman and reader should know that, in this context, an aristocrat's words are not to be believed. As is less clear cut in relationships of social parity, his promise of marriage to a working-class girl is near inherently false.

Moll Flanders's subsequent descent into criminality encapsulates the popular cliché of where misunderstanding this point would lead a woman next. Indeed, as well as implicating time, Hogarth's titles reflect a specific contrast between innocence and experience that would become increasingly totemic as the century wore on. After his unsuccessful attempt on Joanna, Cannon warned 'all young people' among his readership 'not to run so hastily into danger, but stop & consider at first setting out, or like me, in the mid way, or at last when at the brink, & view & forsake the fatal consequences of Love's deep abyss'.[363] The consequences of breaching such an 'abyss' were particularly severe for women, as the author of *Woman Triumphant* noted: 'if a Woman, decoy'd by the Flattery and subtile Arguments of Treacherous Men, steps the least awry […] it's an indelible blot in her 'Scutcheon, not to be wiped out by time'.[364] 'Time', the crucial ingredient in bringing about—and retrospectively defining—a seduction, fails to help the seduced woman, now lost forever. *Woman Triumphant* offered a parallel vision of seducers' 'before' and 'after': 'Fellows who can cring[e] and creep like *Spaniels* 'till you have gain'd your Ends, and then are as surly as *Mastives*'.[365]

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[362] Katherine Binhammer, *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.11.

[363] Cannon, *Chronicles*, I. p.89.

[364] *Woman Triumphant*, p.xiii.

[365] *Woman Triumphant*, p.xiv.

This 'before and after' would later take on a more sentimental cast, as philanthropists sought to wind women's fates back from the fallen 'after' to a redeemed, if not entirely innocent, 'before'. Preaching at the Magdalen Hospital in 1759, William Dodd asked his audience to imagine a 'wretched unfortunate' from the Hospital expostulating with her seducer on '"what thy unbridled passion and seducing lust, hath brought me!"'. Dodd contrasts her 'before' to her 'after'. '"Late gay in beauty, and elegant in charms,"' she says, '"thy heart was captivated, and every art was used to win, and to destroy me. Thou didst prevail; and I was undone! […] Oh look upon me, and see what cause thou hast to exult!"'.[366] However, the frontispiece to Hanway's 1761 *Reflections, Essays and Meditations on Life and Religion* (fig. 43) offered a hopeful alternative. Juxtaposing a louche, lounging prostitute with a neat Magdalen, it encourages us to invert the traditional narrative, reading the prostitute as the 'before' and her modest counterpart as the 'after'. The Hospital between them is thereby proposed as the mediating agent, serving, in some degree, to 'wipe out' the effects of time.[367]

Before and *After* and the pendant form

Hogarth's choice of a pendant format for *Before* and *After* calls attention to this kind of temporal contrast, reflecting how, for David Kunzle (writing about the comic strip), '[t]o narrate is […] to polarize a sequence of events into Before and After, Then and Now, Cause and Result—and Crime and Punishment', or, for Patricia Fortini Brown, to 'make ambiguities toler-

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[366] William Dodd, 'A Sermon, Preached before the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Governors of the Magdalen-House', in *An Account of the Present State of the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes…*, 4th edn (London: Printed for W. Faden, 1770) pp.82-83.

[367] On this engraving, see Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, p.68. A nineteenth-century version of this idea is discussed by Nicholas Tromans, *Richard Dadd: the Artist and the Asylum* (London: Tate, 2011), p.158, ill. p.163.

able, provide linkages and give structure to amorphous happenings'.[368] Like seduction itself, Hogarth's pendants highlight cause and effect—persuasion to consent; consent to abandonment—and the problem of how to define and understand time within formal constraints, as raised by Shaftesbury. At the same time, the pendant form reflects ironically on seduction's apparent antonym, marriage, recalling pendant portraits of husbands and wives, a popular seventeenth-century Netherlandish genre still in vogue in eighteenth-century England.[369] On the Dutch examples, David Smith notes that the contrasts between the sitters which such pendants set up 'helped to define further the character of each. The imagined interplay of the two personalities and […] the dialectic of masculinity and femininity itself play a crucial role in the meaning of the companion piece'.[370] This relationship is one of opposition as well as mutual dependency. Unlike a narrative sequence, whose images proceed chronologically, these paintings make meaning in synchrony.

However, the 'outdoor' *Before* and *After* also reference and subvert hints of this formal pendant format through their subject and the positioning of the figures. According to heraldic tradition, pendant portraits should place the man on the viewer's left, with the woman on the right, at her husband's 'sinister', or lesser, side.[371] *Before* and *After* invert these positions: the seducer, placed at the viewer's left in *Before*, is 'reduced', physically and compositionally, in *After.* The effect is to suggest both seduction's potentially chaotic implications, in contrast to the (theoretical) order of marriage, and the disruptions to assumed power posi-

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[368] Kunzle, *Early Comic Strip*, pp.3-4; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988), p.3.

[369] David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), p.10; Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.51.

[370] Smith, *Masks of Wedlock*, p.41.

[371] Smith, *Masks of Wedlock*, p.47.

tions that can result from it. Though both man and woman appear equally incapacitated in *After*, the man appears particularly ridiculous by virtue of his exposed penis, which, for Wagner, serves to underline 'the beastly aspects of human sexuality and the ephemeral, vitiated pleasures of sexual intercourse'.[372]

Hogarth's other major alteration to the pendant model is to bring the 'man and wife' together in two single images, and to introduce a narrative angle—a 'before' and 'after'—already implied in the fact of a marriage portrait (produced either before or after a marriage has taken place), though rarely evident in its content.[373] It is therefore interesting that he should have turned to this subject at this moment. In March 1729, Hogarth had married the daughter of his mentor, Sir James Thornhill (1675/6-1734), in a 'stolen' union that—according to George Vertue—took place 'without [Sir James's] consent'.[374] The balance of evidence cited by Ronald Paulson suggests that Jane Thornhill lied when she said she was 'above 21' on the marriage certificate, and therefore required this withheld consent.[375] This alliance made Hogarth, legally, a 'seducer', and the Hogarths apparently remained unreconciled with the injured father-in-law until, as John Nichols reported it, Thornhill was shown *A Harlot's Progress* in September 1731.[376]

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[372] Wagner, *Eros Revived*, p.277.

[373] For a discussion of this issue in relation to Reynolds's *Montgomery Sisters Adorning a Term of Hymen*, see Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.78. Retford also discusses time in eighteenth-century betrothal portraits in *The Conversation Piece: Making Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp.51-55.

[374] John Bowyer Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, with a catalogue of his works…*, 2nd edn (London: J. B. Nichols, 1782), p.23; Vertue Note Books vol. III, *Walpole Society*, XXII (1933-34), p.38.

[375] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.197.

[376] Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes*, p.23.

There is evidence that Hogarth continued to work through the events of 1729. One example is also in the pendant format. A cut-down painting in Aberdeen shows Jane Thornhill in the guise of *Mrs William Hogarth as St Agnes* (fig. 44), and its format implies an excised section that presumably included her husband—Elizabeth Einberg suggests the New Haven *Self-Portrait* of the artist (fig. 45).[377] The implication is that Hogarth planned a double portrait, but subsequently removed himself, his act of separation a repetition of the division of *Before* and *After*, creating two (potentially) standalone pendants instead of a single image of union. However, as Einberg highlights, St Agnes also invites a comparison with Jane Thornhill's story. The saint was '[c]elebrated for her unswerving determination to stick to her choice of husband' (Christ) against parental 'orders and blandishments', and 'exercis[ed] her resistance in a spirit of meekness and humility'.[378] The cropping of the image similarly invites a conflation of earthly and divine. Though she may once have looked adoringly at Hogarth, in his absence the tilt of Jane Hogarth's head suggests that, in character as St Agnes, she is now thinking on her 'heavenly' husband. Meanwhile, although Einberg dates the painting to 1735, it draws in costume and composition on the late seventeenth-century portrait tradition in which Jane Thornhill's unconsenting father had worked.

Three decades later, Hogarth apparently re-used Jane Hogarth as a model, and returned to the theme of seduction, this time for the ill-fated history painting *Sigismunda Mourning over the Heart of Guiscardo, her Murdered Husband* (fig. 46).[379] This painting draws attention to Hogarth's own status as painter-seducer: he declared that he had sought to 'draw tears from the spectator […] and touch the heart through the eye'; a privileging of physical and emotional

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[377] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 85, pp.144-46 (p.146).

[378] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, p.146.

[379] For the background to this painting, see Marcia Pointon, *William Hogarth's "Sigismunda" in Focus* (London: Tate, 2000), pp.8-14.

response that suggests the ambiguous boundary between sympathy and seduction. This also recalls Roger de Piles's argument, relating specifically to aesthetic illusion, that painting should seek 'de séduire nos yeux et de nous surprendre', reaching the 'heart' through an immediate, deceptive, effect on the eye.[380]

However, this 'seductive' appeal to the body was Hogarth's downfall. *Sigismunda* 'touched the heart' too literally. A red and bulging anatomical specimen, supplied to the artist by '*Mr Hawkins* the surgeon', forms a sexualised contrast to Sigismunda's white finger, which Horace Walpole reported was actually 'bloodied' by it.[381] Walpole's assertion makes clear what he thought was wrong with this 'vulgar' painting, which (in the words of Marcia Pointon) 'emphasis[es] the sheer physicality of [its] drama'.[382] John Wilkes repeated the widely-held view that Jane Hogarth was the model, describing the painting as resembling 'what [Hogarth] had seen, or perhaps made, in real life, his own wife in an agony of passion; but of what passion no connoisseur could guess'.[383] Wilkes calls attention to Hogarth's sexual relationship with his model-wife, accusing *Sigismunda* of being at once unnatural and over-realistic, illustrating 'what Hogarth had seen' only too well, 'hold[ing] out her deformities to

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[380] Hogarth, *Anecdotes*, p.54; Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes, composé par Mr. de Piles* (Paris: Chez Jacques Estienne, 1708), p.453.

[381] Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes*, p.61; Pointon discusses the significance of the blood, and the likelihood that Hogarth later removed it, in *"Sigismunda"*, pp.22-27 and Rica Jones discusses the painting's conservation history, including Hogarth's reworkings, in 'Technical Examination of the Alterations in "Sigismunda"', in ibid., pp.30-34.

[382] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England…*, rev. James Dalloway and Ralph N. Wornum, 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), III., p.731; Pointon,*"Sigismunda"*, p.24.

[383] John Wilkes, *The North Briton,* No. XVII (Saturday, 21 May, 1762), in *The North Briton: Revised and Corrected by the Author*, 2 vols (Dublin: Printed for John Mitchell and James Williams, 1764), I., pp.88-94 (p.89).

ridicule'.[384] This reflects the perception that Hogarth 'suffered from an excessive identification with his project […] that left his cherished work overladen'.[385]

In view of these criticisms, focused on Hogarth both as painter-seducer and (obliquely) as husband, it is interesting that Einberg and Pointon should both have identified in the table-leg a half-hidden profile portrait of the artist himself.[386] This figure's round features and distinctive nose (fig. 47), together with the arrangement of the scrollwork suggesting a turban, recall Hogarth's self-portrait 'painting the Comic Muse' of two years earlier (fig. 48). The apparent presence of 'the head of a king, clearly her father' on Sigismunda's bracelet supports this, 'indicat[ing] her allegiance as a daughter'.[387] In uniting a self-portrait with the figure of the fictional daughter who disobeyed her father and married beneath her, *Sigismunda* thus exemplifies seduction's tripartite structure.[388] The painting presents the woman seduced, the man who seduced her, and the father from whose allegiance she was led away, whose wrath has killed the lover. It also represents the 'after' of the seduction story, the weeping Sigismunda embracing her lover's dead heart, not his living body.

Showing this 'after' allowed Hogarth, as he put it, to 'draw tears from the spectator', a dramatic interpretation of a woman's psychological state at the tragic dénouement of a seduction.[389] *Sigismunda* thereby suggests a layering of time, of 'befores' and 'afters', rooted in psychology, and that this painting, like *Mrs Hogarth as St Agnes*, should approach its subject

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[384] Wilkes, *North Briton*, XVII, p.89.

[385] Mark Salber Phillips, 'Hogarth and History Painting', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Roman, pp.83-113 (p.96).

[386] Elizabeth Einberg, *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting, 1700-1760* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997), cat. 30, pp.52-35 (p.53); Pointon, *"Sigismunda"*, p.14.

[387] Paulson, *Hogarth*, III., p.227; Pointon, *"Sigismunda"*, p.28.

[388] Paulson draws attention to 'the parallel to Hogarth's own experience' and to the bracelet in *Hogarth*, III., pp.227-28.

[389] Hogarth, *Anecdotes*, ed. Nichols, p.54.

through Hogarth's marriage suggests a personal interest both in seduction itself, and in the relationships which seduction calls into question. Indeed, when read through Thornhill, this seduction is also played out in paint, underlining Hogarth's complex relationship with the man who was at once his father-in-law and his antecedent in British art. Both *Mrs Hogarth* and *Sigismunda* therefore call attention to seduction's address to the seducer's prior allegiances, and the painter-seducer's attempt to redirect, and ultimately supplant it.

Seduction or rape? The indoor *Before* and *After*

Despite the moment of obscenity hinted at in the Fitzwilliam paintings, the 'beastly' aspects of human sexuality are significantly less apparent in these works than in the 'indoor' scenes (figs. 49-50). Here, rather than through sustained seductive persuasion, time is implicated through its rapid passing, and the consequent need to 'seize the moment'; a seizure now quite literal. This highlights a distinction between seduction, assumed to be slow, and rape, which implies speed, even if it has only a homophonic link to the older Medieval word meaning 'haste'.[390] Though often taken merely to indicate the woman's hypocrisy—her penchant for 'blunt references to sexual subjects, including seductions'—the poems of Rochester visible on the desk of the woman in the engraving provides a philosophical context for this.[391] Rochester's 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' considers a frustrated 'fruition' of an inherently temporal kind as the speaker finds his 'all-dissolving thunderbolt' prematurely reduced

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[390] *OED* [online], "rape, n.3", http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158145?rskey=g4sziO&result=3&isAdvanced=false; "rape, n.2", http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158144?rskey=g4sziO&result=2&isAdvanced=false [accessed 1 November, 2017].

[391] Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, cat. 40-42, pp.76-79 (p.79); See also Lindsay, *Hogarth*, p.100.

to a 'dead cinder', and himself to a 'wishing, weak, unmoving lump'.[392] While undeniably 'blunt' in tone, 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' is primarily interested in corporeal frailty: the problem is not so much premature ejaculation, as the awareness it engenders that post-lapsarian man's 'dart of love' is unresponsive to command: 'false to my passion, fatal to my flame'.[393] This more cynical context for the engravings—accessible to a wider audience than the privately commissioned paintings—may reflect the sense that they would have been interpreted by viewers as addenda to the (apparently) moralistic *Harlot's* and *Rake's Progress*.[394]

Hogarth's joke in *Before* and *After* is indeed similar to Rochester's: time is brief, as is male potency, an idea underscored by the painted Cupid on the wall, lighting a phallic firework in *Before* and laughing at its extinction in *After*. Fireworks were a novel feature of eighteenth-century English life, first deployed at Marylebone Gardens in 1718.[395] They are also, as Thomas Kavanagh points out, 'an art of the instant'; extinguished almost as soon as they explode, though not before offering their viewers a dazzling spectacle that momentarily 'reigns supreme, erasing even the suspicion of death and its enforced exit from the realm of the moment'.[396] In the twentieth century, Alfred Hitchcock would elongate this explosive 'instant'

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[392] John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' [1680], in *Complete Works*, ed. Frank H. Ellis (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), pp.28-29, ll.10, 33, 36. For the suggestion that Hogarth intends to imply premature ejaculation, see Bernd W. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Hour in Eighteenth-century English Art* (Hildesheim; Zurich; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2010), p.122.

[393] 'Imperfect Enjoyment', ll.37, 47. Rochester's pre-lapsarian vision of when 'each member did their wills obey' is 'The Fall' (1680), in *Complete Works*, p.68.

[394] Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, p.79.

[395] Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p.96. For fireworks in English pleasure gardens, see also Alan St H. Brock, *A History of Fireworks* (London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1949), pp.55-59.

[396] Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Esthetics of the Moment: Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p.17.

by intercutting fireworks with his own scene of seduction in *To Catch a Thief* (1955), in the process providing a literal counterpart to Sergei Eisenstein's characterisation of montage as '"the *explosion of the shot*"'.[397] Indeed, Wagner has characterised the gap between *Before* and *After* as 'the equivalent in graphic art of the film cut'.[398] In Hogarth's pendants, the absence of *During*—the part of the implied 'triptych' that would have addressed the idea of time's 'duration'— evokes the expression 'over in a flash', with all its connotations of 'explosion'. It is 'over' in the time it takes to move from the first picture to the second, and Rochester's contrast between the 'thunderbolt' and the 'cinder' is simply a more urgent formulation of the motto attributed to Aristotle, 'Omne Animal Post Coitum Triste', which appears at the man's feet, next to the sleeping dog (with which he is thereby equated) in *After*.

Rochester's anxious cynicism reflects Hobbes's 1658 assertion that: 'even the enjoyment of a desire, when we are enjoying it, is an appetite, namely the motion of the mind to enjoy by parts, the thing that it is enjoying. For life is a perpetual motion that, when it cannot progress in a straight line, is converted into circular motion'.[399] Man is consequently condemned to an endless search for 'variety', accompanied by an anxious attempt to postpone full 'enjoyment' through 'perpetual motion', a movement from one pleasure to the next.

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[397] Quoted in Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), p.56. On *Before* and *After* in the twentieth century, see also Austin Briggs, 'Joyce and Hogarth: "Up Like a Rocket, Down Like a Stick"', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 39:3 (Spring, 2002), 541-49.

[398] Peter Wagner, 'Representations of Time', in *Hogarth*, ed. Bindman, Ogée and Wagner, p.111.

[399] Thomas Hobbes, 'On Man', in *Man and Citizen*, trans. Charles T. Wood, T. S. K. Scott-Craig and Bernard Gert ([1658] Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1991), p.54. For Hobbes, see Quentin Skinner, 'The Ideological Context of Hobbes's Political Thought', *The Historical Journal*, 9:3 (1966), 286-317 and Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph*, pp.257-314.

Awareness of time, and the looming threat of death, engenders a need to seize, rather than savour, as the libertine poet Robert Herrick (1591-1674) wrote 'To the Virgins' in 1648.[400]

It is therefore appropriate that the *Before* and *After* compositions that reference Rochester are also the ones most interested in movement. They are characterised by dramatic diagonals, notably the bed canopy, which appears at too steep an angle to accord either with the bed itself, or with the wall. The mirror similarly tumbles in a different direction from the table on which it sits.[401] At the composition's centre, the falling woman, and the assorted limbs of her and her lover-seducer, create a complex network of lines and conflicting forces incarnated in the bounding dog. Indoors, this seduction is not a 'progress' from wheedling cause to effect, but a sexual 'rapture', seized through force, in the knowledge that its pleasures will not satisfy. Just as Rochester's 'Imperfect Enjoyment' contrasts the 'eager fire' with the member that 'languid lies', *Before* and *After* reveal sadness to be the result of, rather than an alternative to, the pleasure proposed by *Before*'s encroaching seducer.[402] It is here that he is most eager to depart.

Though generally the most discussed of Hogarth's *Before* and *After* series, the 'indoor' engravings have divided scholars on the question of consent. David Bindman characterises the scene as a rape.[403] However, Aileen Ribeiro notes that 'in spite of her last minute resistance, the girl has anticipated events by removing her heavily boned stays', a theory to

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[400] Robert Herrick, 'To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time', in *The Penguin Book of English Verse*, ed. John Hayward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), pp.158-59. See also Andrew Marvell, 'To His Coy Mistress', in *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Nigel Smith, rev. edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), pp.81-84, ll.38-40. On the 'carpe diem' tradition, see pp.75-76.

[401] For the symbolism of the broken mirror, see Emma Barker, 'Reading the Greuze Girl: The Daughter's Seduction', *Representations*, 117 (2012), 86-119 (pp.99-100).

[402] 'The Imperfect Enjoyment', ll.3, 44.

[403] Bindman, *Hogarth*, p.43.

which James Grantham Turner also subscribes.[404] Ribeiro and Turner consider the woman's resistance faint, and feigned, apparently reading these props as the kinds of 'adjoining circumstances' to which Hogarth alludes in the *Analysis*, noting that, since the hypocrite controls his expression, 'little of his mind can be gather'd from his countenance', making his character 'entirely out of the power of the pencil, without some adjoining circumstance to discover him, as smiling and stab[b]ing at the same time, or the like'.[405] Yet this emphasis on simultaneity contrasts with the temporality implied by *Before* and *After*, which implies a more complicated relationship between events and states of mind. Indeed, Wagner acknowledges that the ambiguity allowed by another 'circumstance', the woman's face patches, which signify 'I am in love', 'justifies different readings of the scene'.[406]

Hogarth also increased the ambiguity in the transition between painting and engraving. In the Getty *Before*, the texts falling out of the dresser are only half-legible: Einberg identifies the book as containing folkloric advice on finding the perfect husband; the paper merely says 'will agree she did not die a maid'.[407] These fragments are textual equivalents to the fracture between the two paintings, and similarly ambiguous. The second applies as much to Richardson's raped *Clarissa* as any pornographic heroine: nothing intrinsically condemns the woman's intentions. In the engravings, the addition of the woman's stays and (arguably) her copy of Rochester are more damning. Indeed, the *Practice of Piety* in her drawer had previously appeared in the *Genuine History of Mrs Sarah Prydden* (1723), a fictionalised

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[404] Riberio, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe*, p.171; James Grantham Turner, '"A Wanton Kind of Chace": Display as Procurement in "A Harlot's Progress" and its Reception' in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, pp.38-61 (p.53).

[405] Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.96.

[406] Wagner, 'Spotting the Symptoms', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, p.111.

[407] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 41-42, p.80.

biography of the prostitute Sally Salisbury (c.1692-1724), whose bawd, a 'pious old Matron […] laid out of her Hand the *Practice of Piety*' on welcoming new recruits to the brothel.[408]

These 'circumstances' are counterposed by the woman's distressed face, with its furrowed brow and downturned mouth. It may be deceptive, but it is still illuminated by the light that also strikes the painting of Cupid, making it the crucial point of the print's left-to-right diagonal downwards movement. It also contrasts with the face of the assailant, blocked by a resisting hand, ensuring that little indeed can be 'gather'd' here. Indeed, Hogarth apparently had some trouble with this area, later altering the mouth into 'less of a leer'.[409] The engraving therefore allows for a range of interpretations. So it is strange that the divergence in scholarly opinion is not commented upon, each viewer rather assuming that what they see is obvious, in line with an assumption going back to Charles Lamb that Hogarth himself is 'legible', offering easily decoded symbols and signs.[410] I follow Wagner in suggesting that, rather than presenting a single, clear interpretation, Hogarth's visual allusions offer 'a fascinating world of ambiguity and a universe of multiple meanings'.[411] Like the seducer's words to the maiden, the signs of *Before* and *After* are open to debate.

Taking time

Many of the features of the English seduction discussed here were also recognisable in France. In her analysis of early eighteenth-century Parisian court cases, Arlette Farge notes

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[408] [Anonymous], *The Genuine History of Mrs Sarah Prydden…* (London: Printed for Andrew Moor, 1723), p.22.

[409] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 141, p.171.

[410] Charles Lamb, 'Essay on the Genius and Character of Hogarth', in Hogarth, *Anecdotes*, ed. Nichols, pp.91-118 (p.92).

[411] Wagner, 'How to Mis(Read) Hogarth', p.235.

that the standard formula for seduction disputes was that '[a] fondness for the other person grew with time, whilst words, both spoken and written, and gestures also had their part to play in creating a climate which allowed trust and affection to become established'.[412] Again, time is implicated in the 'progress' of seduction, similarly shown to require male rhetorical prowess. In nearly a quarter of Farge's cases the time involved was significant, with couples taking between two to seven years to move from an initial meeting to intercourse. Like their English counterparts, French members of the agricultural poor may have expected to wait several years before they were in a financial position to marry.[413]

Unlike *Before* and *After*, *Cythère*'s action is encompassed in a single 'tableau', consistent with the precept of the Abbé Dubos that, in a 'poëtique' painted composition, 'tous les personnages [doivent être] liez par une action principale'.[414] However, the specific spatial conditions of *Cythère* raise their own questions of tempo, similar to those discussed in relation to *Before* and *After.* How quickly is Watteau's action 'unfolding'? One answer was offered by Claude Ferraton, for whom each of Watteau's couples are 'se succèdant comme en un film de séduction'.[415] In contrast to Wagner's characterisation of *Before* and *After* as a montage—a quick switch from frame to frame— Ferraton evokes celluloid gradually rolling through a projector, an anachronistic reading of Watteau's depiction of movement that has been advanced elsewhere.[416] Just as, on film, the illusion of movement arises from the persistence of

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[412] Farge, *Fragile Lives*, pp.30-31.

[413] On nuptiality changes during this period, see Emma Griffin, 'A Conundrum Resolved? Rethinking Courtship, Marriage and Population Growth in Eighteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 215 (May, 2012), 125-64.

[414] Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture…*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Pierre-Jean Mariette, 1719), I. p.255.

[415] Ferraton, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"', 82.

[416] Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, 'Drawing Time', *October*, 151 (Winter 2015), 3-42 (p.3); Anne Hollander, *Moving Pictures* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp.197-219.

the previous frame on the retina, Ferraton's characterisation imagines each of Watteau's couples to represent the 'before' and 'after' of the couples preceding and following them. Indeed, the three women at the right are, respectively, considering the attentions of the lover, rising up in assent, and beginning to progress towards the boat, while momentarily turning back.

Cythère's gradual unfolding suggests that it inhabits a shared philosophical territory with Hogarth's 'outdoor' *Before* and *After*, with its implied work of slow, deliberate persuasion, rather than the Hobbesian vision of 'rapture' in the 'indoor' scenes—itself perhaps better approximated in French art by later scenes such as Fragonard's *La Resistance inutile* (c. 1770-3, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Watteau's kneeling figure, addressing a shy companion at the far right, is a refined equivalent of the blue-clad Fitzwilliam seducer, leaning his head into his companion and gesturing with his hand. However, rather than body pressing on body with *carpe diem* enthusiasm, *Cythère*'s actions are paused mid-flow. The woman in brown, second from the right, is getting to her feet, helped by her lover, who is also turning away, towards the boat. There is a tension between the weight of the woman as she rises, and that of the man helping her up, the hand positions leaving less weight in each than expected. Indeed, his right is not sketched in: the closer to the paint surface one gets, the more such details dissolve.

The resultant sense of weightlessness, previously highlighted in relation to Watteau's arabesques, means that each of *Cythère*'s figures hover at a provisional point between stages of movement. The absence of any physical break between the first 'scène' (to use Rodin's term) and the movement towards embarkation represented by the figures on the left underlines the idea of gradual progress. Whereas Hogarth makes comic use of the negative space between frames, *Cythère* revels in the moments between persuasion and fulfilment, giving neither state more emphasis than the other. Instead, we are invited to explore the possibilities of the serpentine line leading between them—the kind of line Hogarth would invoke in the

Analysis, that, 'by its waving and winding at the same time different ways, leads the eye in a pleasing manner along the continuity of its variety'.[417]

Watteau's apparent emphasis on duration and process, rather than the shift from 'before' to 'after', may explain why many of his viewers have read *Cythère* as a 'slow' painting. In the nineteenth century, the Goncourt brothers suggested that it represented 'l'amour […] mais […] l'amour poétique, l'amour qui songe et qui pense, l'amour moderne', a love that 'considered' and 'thought' rather than seizing the moment.[418] Ferraton's twentieth-century description, like that of Charles de Tolnay, similarly imagined the painting as stately, while Michael Levey emphasised the Goncourtean idea that Watteau's 'unwinding' figures express regret or reluctance. It was partly this reading that led to his argument that Watteau had painted a departure *from* Cythera, rather than an embarkation *for* it (that is, an 'after', rather than a 'before').[419] Disputing this theory, Ferraton advanced his own: the Paris painting (fig. 16) is an embarkation for Cythera, but the Berlin one (fig. 19) is a return.[420] Taken together, the two paintings are a kind of precedent for Hogarth's *Before* and *After*, painted with a time delay.

However, the issue of 'before' and 'after' when applied to *Cythère* complicates the issue of whether it is 'fast' or 'slow'. Though Levey emphasised languid movement in his reading, his conclusion was, paradoxically, that the painting conveys 'the idea of time's passage, the inevitable movement of life'; that is, that it (like the 'indoor' *Before* and *After*) emphasises the speed at which time marches.[421] The Goncourt brothers had a similar reading,

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[417] Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.42.

[418] Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, I. p.11.

[419] Levey, 'Real Theme of Watteau's Embarkation', pp.180-85. For a response, see Ferraton, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"', and Le Coat, 'Le Pèlerinage à l'isle de Cithère'.

[420] Ferraton, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"', p.91.

[421] Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France 1700-1789*, rev. edn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.40.

couched in terms of the artist's own body and perceived physical dissolution: Watteau was, they wrote, 'vieillard à trente ans, les yeux enfoncés, la bouche serrée', prematurely aged and close to the end of his life.[422] Norman Bryson has identified in these writings 'an unstated common root in the post-coital state'.[423] However, this is arguably mediated more through a sense of physical incapacity focused on Watteau's consumption, which Camille Mauclair famously characterised as 'un ange aux voiles noirs', that 'a fait de sa vie brève une œuvre si belle et si accomplie en ses proportions que notre pitié se tromperait en la déplorant'.[424] In opposing Watteau's 'vie brève' and 'l'insatisfaction immortelle', Mauclair, like the Goncourts, places time at the heart of Watteau's work: the slow wasting of consumption against the premature death it brings about; the artist's brief life against the eternal relevance of his paintings. For Levey, writing half a century later, *Cythère*'s slowness is part of its seductive power: its languidness illustrates the brevity of life. The painting is both fast and slow, its imagined listlessness a reminder of time's speedy passing.

This interpretation of *Cythère* as a reminder of mortality recalls Jean Weisgerber's suggestion that 'thanatos' is always present in the rococo, but is mediated through sex.[425] 'Son eudémonisme va droit à l'alcôve,' he writes, 'à ce moment suprême qui—sauf accident—couronne la séduction, et qu'il faut saisir au vol'.[426] While, as the previous chapter argued, *Cythère* is interested in precisely this 'progress' towards the (figurative) 'alcôve', *Before*

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[422] Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, I. p.12.

[423] Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.65.

[424] Camille Mauclair, 'La Maladie de Watteau', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XL (June - December, 1921), 100-8 (p.108).

[425] Jean Weisgerber, *Les Masques fragiles: esthétiques et formes de la littérature rococo* (Lausanne: Éditions l'Age d'Homme, 1991), p.200. See also Ostrowski, 'Pellegrinaggio a Citera', pp.9-22.

[426] Weisgerber, *Les Masques fragiles*, p.200.

and *After* oppose different moods as much as different actions, and specifically moods that are conscious of time. In this sense, they draw on the much older *transi* tradition, which juxtaposes the living 'before' with the rotting 'after'.[427] Like the 'danse macabre' motif alluded to in the previous chapter, such juxtapositions suggest the immanence of time in everyday life; its propensity to catch people unawares. Indeed, Weisgerber's 'moment suprême', crowning seduction and fusing sex and death, is precisely the one Hogarth omits. It is encapsulated in the 'art of the instant', in the exploding firework which momentarily frees viewers from the 'before' and 'after', allowing them to revel in what Kavanagh characterises as 'a new sense of existence within a present freed from the weight of past and future'.[428]

The grabbing man

Among the additions Watteau made to the Berlin *Cythère* are the two figures at the painting's bottom right: the woman lying in the lap of a man whose hand is firmly on her shoulder. This man appears frequently in Watteau's work: in the *Assemblé dans un parc* (c.1716-17, Louvre, Paris); *Les Plaisirs d'amour* (1719, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden); *Les Bergers* (c.1717, Schlöss Charlottenburg, Berlin) and its cognate *Le Plaisir pastorale* (c.1715, Musée Condé, Chantilly), and *Les Fêtes vénitiennes* (1718-19, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh). His most forceful appearance is in the small painting titled (apparently by a collector) *Le Faux-pas* (fig. 51). This is the closest of all Watteau's paintings to Hogarth's outdoor *Before*, in subject, composition and scale. The size is typical of Watteau, but this painting was apparently cut

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[427] For the *transi* tradition, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

[428] Kavanagh, *Esthetics of the Moment*, p.1.

from a larger picture at an unknown point in its history; another act (anonymous, this time) of selection or excision.[429]

The figures in the *Faux-pas* appear in an ill-defined outdoor setting, the leaves and hazy bushes suggesting a shrub-land dissolving into blue immediately behind them. The man's florid cheeks and hands echo the scarlet cloak on the ground, and the vermillion spreading out through the edges of the painting, possibly exaggerated by cleaning.[430] By contrast, the grey-blue clad woman at the centre is pearly-white; a cool centre in a flushed landscape, her restraining hand firmly on her companion's chest.[431] The contrast implies a negotiation, or struggle, within the terms of courtship; one figure moving at a faster pace than the other. The hands are the focal point. The man's right is absent from view; his deliberately placed left hand is the axis around which the rest of the action turns. He is acting in defiance of what Shirley Wynne characterises as 'complaisance': 'an indefinable balance,' brought to polite eighteenth-century settings, that combined 'an artful propriety and detachment, as if viewing the activities of the outer world as one apart from it'.[432]

The man's defiance of the rules of politeness may reflect the ambiguous rural surroundings in which he finds himself. At least in this cut-down form, the setting has none of the man-made interventions of the *fête galante*, and appears rather closer to the secluded space of *Before*, a 'place apart', where seducers feel free to press their suits. Indeed, like the man in Hogarth's 'indoor' *Before*, Watteau's figure is seizing his chance. The painting is thus as much about speed and sexual 'rapture' as *Cythère* is about careful, attentive, persuasion. Indeed, the motif's reappearance in the Berlin *Cythère* acts as a more explicit indicator of sexual activity than any-

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[429] *Watteau*, ed. Rosenberg and Grasselli, cat. 57, pp.387-88 (p.387).

[430] Louis D. Fourcaud, 'Antoine Watteau: Scènes et figures galantes — I', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XVI (July - December, 1904), 341-57 (pp.356-57).

[431] For Northern precedents for this motif, see Banks, *Watteau and the North*, pp.129-30, Posner, *Watteau*, p.169.

[432] Shirley Wynne, 'Complaisance, An Eighteenth-century Cool', *Dance Scope* (Fall, 1970), 22-35 (p.31).

thing in the Paris painting; it is this figure, together with the couple gathering roses above him, that led Ferraton to suggest that the later painting represents a 'before'—or, more precisely, a 'during', showing the pilgrims 'in the act'.[433]

The mediating impresario

In these examples, variations in seductive speed are also variations in space: progresses to and from Cythera. Conversely, *Before* and *After* do not seem to imagine their protagonists moving at all. Instead, Hogarth carefully replicates the trees, rocks and leaves from *Before* in *After*, including the yellow brushstrokes indicating the clearing. Like a stage, this clearing is the only area affected by human events such as the divestment of linen and the letting fall of apples—the bush in the left foreground has apparently been effaced in *After*, suggesting (perhaps) that this was the specific site of the action of *During*. The surrounding woodland remains as impervious as a backdrop. *Before* and *After* can therefore be considered 'theatrical' in the sense that they 'take place', and do so in front of an audience whose perspective is imagined to be situationally conditioned.[434]

However, although Hogarth replicates the backdrop of *Before* in *After*, he also retains inaccuracies that are striking given his engraver's training in transferring and copying images. Flowers have appeared at the bottom left of *After* that were absent in *Before*, while the boulder at the foot of the rightmost tree has shrunk, and the dark-coloured rock at the right has changed shape and position. The effect is to call attention both to the sameness of the 'stage'—the action is 'taking place' in the same location each time—and to the change in the

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[433] Ferraton, '"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"', p.90. The phrase is originally in English.

[434] See Samuel Weber, *Theatricality as Medium* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004), pp.3-8.

viewer's situation. In contrast to the self-contained 'Tablature', the pendant requires the viewer to make a physical 'progress' (turn of the head, movement of the feet), through space, in order to get from one picture to the next.

The 'censorship' between *Before* and *After* therefore prefigures the curtain over the painted nude in the back room of 'The Tête-à-Tête', the second painting from *Marriage à la Mode* (fig. 52). The implicit theatricality of the denial is appropriate, and is, in fact, the exact inverse of another Molly Seagrim joke from *Tom Jones*: the moment when Tom, an unexpected visitor, witnesses how 'the wicked Rug' hanging at the end of Molly's bed, 'got loose from its Fastning, and discovered every thing hid behind it; where among other female Utensils appeared—(with Shame I write it, and with Sorrow will it be read)—the Philosopher *Square*, in a Posture […] as ridiculous as can possibly be conceived'.[435] Here, rather than censoring salacious detail, the narrator reveals it—via Molly's ironically theatrical rug-curtain—in the process calling attention to his status as an impresario mediating between audience and plot for maximum dramatic effect. The implications of such mediation later worried Nichols, who wrote of Hogarth's 1736 engravings that: 'To omit them [from an album] is to mutilate the collection; to pin the leaves, on which they are pasted, together, is a circumstance that tends only to provoke curiosity'.[436] Here it is the prints' owner who is regarded as the mediating figure, striving for completion whilst fearing for the 'curiosity' that an act of censorship might provoke when 'he is obliged to shew the volume that contains them to ladies'.

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[435] Fielding, *Tom Jones*, p.204.

[436] Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes*, p.194.

Conclusion

Four years after *Before* and *After*, the lawyer John Ayliffe noted that illicit sex was 'difficult to be prov'd' since adultery and fornication were 'Acts of Darkness and great Secrecy'.[437] Indeed, Farge highlights the frequency with which 'seduced women' argued in courts that 'in the space between the "before" and the "after" when there was no hope of going back, everything was turned upside down'.[438] Moll Flanders's moment of capitulation is similarly imagined as essentially passive: 'putting the Purse into my Bosom, I made no more Resistance to him, but let him do just what he pleas'd; and as often as he pleas'd'.[439]

The absence of the central panel in *Before* and *After* highlights Ayliffe's problem. For courts, what had happened between a couple in dispute often remained ambiguous, as indeed it may have been when it began. The primary actors each had an interest in defining the nature (and order) of events, sorting promises, agreements and enactments into clear 'befores' and 'afters', in a reflection of the centrality of time both to seduction, and to the contract as a legal construct. *Before* and *After* present precisely this kind of effacement by omitting 'During' altogether. At the same time, the worldly viewer, like Fielding's 'sagacious reader', is also expected to guess what is going on in this 'grove', to project their own ideas into this empty space, which becomes (writes Ogée) 'le vide où le spectateur est invité à se glisser en imagination'.[440]

Hogarth's 'triptych' thus prefigures the blank 'paper ready to your hand' provided by Laurence Sterne (1713-68) to the readers of *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67), inviting them to

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[437] John Ayliffe, *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani…*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for Thomas Osborne, 1734), pp.44-45.

[438] Farge, *Fragile Lives*, pp.36-37.

[439] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, p.68.

[440] Ogée, 'L'Œil erre', p.62.

paint Widow Wadman 'as like your mistress as you can—as unlike your wife as your conscience will let you'; an invitation to the (male) viewer to use their imagination.[441] While the space 'between the frames' is a particularly creative one for those possessed of imagination (as Watteau also implies through the sinuous forms of the arabesque), Hogarth's joke is to deny his viewers the most important moment in his narrative sequence. Instead of the pornographic painting behind the curtain, he offers a euphemistic leg in a skirt 'before', and a flaccid, exhausted member 'after'.

This chapter argued that Hogarth saw seduction as a way to explore the pictorial implications of time, and particularly Shaftesbury's concept of the crucial 'moment', a moment here omitted. Hercules 'agoniz[ing], and with all his Strength of Reason endeavour[ing] to overcome himself' becomes a woman pressed by a libertine. This translation brings with it the implication of a further crucial 'moment'; one that Hogarth knowingly omits. At the same time, this seduction scene calls attention to time as Shaftesbury's example does not. The omitted off-stage 'moment'—the crucial moment of capitulation—arises at least in part because of the man's impatience with time, his desire to 'seize the day', to hasten on time's progress, or, in the case of the 'indoor' paintings, simply to seize the woman. The contrast between fast and slow, seizure and languor, is something I have also identified in Watteau's *Cythère* paintings, where the grabbing man intrudes into the artful 'complaisance' of the *fête galante* setting, seeking to hurry time on, in the paradoxical knowledge that his time is short, death always waiting at the next turn.

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[441] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Melvyn New and Joan New, rev. edn ([1759-67] London: Penguin, 2003), pp.422-23. The connection with *Tristram Shandy* is also made by Frédéric Ogée, 'The Flesh of Theory: the Erotics of Hogarth's Lines' in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Rosenthal and Fort, pp.62-75 (p.72).

PART TWO:

'Seducing the youthful passengers':

Urban seduction

Introduction

In 1726, Daniel Defoe described the frustrations he said beset his walk down London's east-west thoroughfare:

> With what Impatience and Indignation have I walked from *Charing Cross* to *Ludgate,* when being in full Speed upon important Business, I have every now and then been put to the Halt; sometimes by the full Encounter of an audacious Harlot, whose impudent Leer shewd she only stopp'd my Passage in order to draw my Observation on her.[1]

Published as *Some Considerations upon Street-Walkers,* Defoe's text castigated what he saw as a widespread tolerance of urban prostitution. Yet, while ostensibly focusing on sex work, this passage calls attention to the different kinds of 'street-walker' crowding the city streets. The 'audacious Harlot' contrasts with the busy professional narrator, 'impatient', driven by 'important Business'. One is a (financially) productive member of society; the other putatively purposeless, stopping travellers only 'in order to draw [their] Observation on her'. Yet, that she is *not* purposeless—she too has 'Business' to conduct—is itself a concern. Offering 'lewd

[1] [Daniel Defoe], *Some Considerations upon Street-Walkers, with a Proposal for Lessening the Present Number of Them* (London: Printed for A. Moore, [1726]), p.2.

and ogling Salutations', she occupies herself, Defoe writes, 'in crouding our most publick Streets, and seducing the youthful Passengers'.

Defoe uses the word 'seduce' with the force of the primary meanings highlighted in my Introduction. To both the impatient bourgeois and the 'youthful passenger', the harlot offers 'shameful and scandalous Iniquity', and moral corruption.[2] However, she also threatens to pull him off his course, to divert his journey, perhaps into one of the brothels around the Strand, or, if he is still in a rush, a convenient alley.[3] Defoe's concern reflects a contemporaneous perception that London's prostitutes were particularly visible, 'crouding' the city streets 'like *evil Spirits* […] tempting all they meet'.[4] Ironically, this new urban obstruction may have reflected the city's increasing navigability after the introduction of oil-burning street-lamps in the 1680s and '90s.[5]

Defoe considered streetwalking peculiar to London: 'In *Paris*, which is as debauch'd a Place to the full as *London* […] Men meet no Temptations in the Streets, tho' every one knows where he may repair'.[6] Louis XIV had indeed sought to suppress streetwalkers and brothels in the French capital, though if they had declined in visibility, prostitutes had not necessarily decreased in number: Henri Sauval (1623-76) observed of 'des prostitutions de la ville de

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[2] [Defoe], *Considerations*, p.2.

[3] This section relies on the research of Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998). For the topography of London's bawdy houses, and sex in the street, see pp.120-34. For the period from 1730, see also Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (London; New York: Longman, 1999), pp.52-75.

[4] *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, Saturday 21 March, 1730, f.p. For the visibility of prostitution in London, see Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-century English Popular Print Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), p.9.

[5] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, p.70.

[6] [Defoe], *Considerations*, p.3.

Paris' that 'il y en est peut-être plus arrivé depuis qu'elles sont défendues, qu'auparavant'.[7] However, as Defoe suggests, and Erica-Marie Benabou confirms, the distinction was visibility. Mercenary sex was generalised debauchery; public touting a public scandal, and one which remained a concern into the late eighteenth century.[8] Indeed, Defoe's picture of men marching unassailed in Paris was exaggerated. Streetwalkers clustered around cabarets, markets and the areas surrounding the Paris Opéra, often 'loud, vulgar, impolite [and prone to] breac[h] established habits of manners by accosting male clients as they walked past'.[9]

However, *Some Considerations upon Street-Walkers* also imagines the city (street) as a site of more generalised seduction, its unwary walker easily drawn off course. In 1719, Defoe had made a similar complaint about 'stock-jobbers', who 'lurk in Exchange Alley' until 'they meet with a Cull,' at which point they 'catch him at the Door, whisper to him, Sir, here is a great piece of News, it is not yet publick' thereby 'draw[ing] Innocent Families into their Snares'.[10] While prostitution was a focus, this example shows the city's 'snares' to have been legion; fears not restricted to London. From the seventeenth century, Paris had 'beg[u]n to

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[7] Leon Bernard, *The Emerging City: Paris in the Age of Louis XIV* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1970), p.181; Henri Sauval, *La Chronique scandaleuse de Paris, ou Histoire des mauvais lieux* (Brussels: J. J. Gay, 1883), p. 87. See also James R. Farr, *The Work of France: Labor and Culture in Early Modern Times, 1350-1800* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p.49-62 and pp.73-74 and, for the politics of prostitution later in the century, Pamela Cheek, 'Prostitutes of "Political Institution"', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 28:2 (Winter, 1994-5), 193-219.

[8] Erica-Marie Benabou, *La Prostitution et la police des mœurs au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Pierre Goubert (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1987), p.55. For definitions of 'prostitution' in the French context, see Ann Lewis, 'Classifying the Prostitute in Eighteenth-century France', in *Prostitution and Eighteenth-century Culture: Sex, Commerce and Morality*, ed. Lewis and Markman Ellis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012; Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.17-32.

[9] Markman Ellis and Ann Lewis, 'Introduction: Venal Bodies: Prostitutions and Eighteenth-century Culture', in *Prostitution*, ed. Lewis and Ellis, pp.1-6 (p.3). See also Bernard, *Emerging City*, pp.181-82 and Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.196-205.

[10] [Daniel Defoe], *The Anatomy of Exchange-Alley; or, A System of Stock-Jobbing…* (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1719), pp.3-4, t.p.

display a dynamism not seen since the High Middle Ages' and, in a 1715 engraving published as *L'Embaras de Paris* (fig. 53), the French capital is imagined as a cacophonous chaos through which a well-heeled couple tread warily.[11] Viewers are warned: 'Pour marcher dans [P]aris ayés les yeux alertes, / Tenez de tous côtez vos oreilles ouvertes'. This warning was repeated a year later in John Gay's (1685-1732) mock-heroic *Trivia, or The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716), which advised readers 'how to walk clean by Day, and safe by Night'.[12] Both express fears about urban seduction that are all the more forcible for being practically vague.

These fears reflected the exponential growth of both Paris and London. In 1698, Martin Lister observed 'that *Paris* is in a manner a new City within this 40 years', though royal edicts in 1724, 1726 and 1728 attempted to limit its size, lest it became ungovernable.[13] Meanwhile, Béat de Muralt observed that '[q]uoique [Londres] soit déjà la plus grande ville de l'Europe, on ne laisse pas de l'agrandir toujours'.[14] This expansion conferred a new anonymity on streetwalkers and their clients, but was also accompanied by an increase in 'legitimate' trading activity, such as that proffered by Defoe's stockjobber, all intimately asso-

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[11] Bernard, *Emerging City*, p.6.

[12] John Gay, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London*, in *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-century London: John Gay's 'Trivia' (1716)*, ed. Clare Brant and Susan E. Whyman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), I. l.2, p.170.

[13] Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1699), p.17; Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: an Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Marie Evans (Leamington Spa; Hamburg; New York: Berg, 1987), pp.15ff. On the development of Paris during this period, see also Bernard, *Emerging City*, pp.4-27.

[14] [Béat de Muralt], *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* (Cologne, 1725; repr. Paris: Librairie le Soudier, 1897), p.89.

ciated with the metropolis, 'the Center of all Trade and Correspondence'.[15] In 1694, the Bank of England was established in London; by 1700, it was possible to invest in annuity schemes, lotteries, stock and municipal bond options.[16] As the Scottish gambler and economist John Law (1671-1729) gained prominence in France, establishing the Banque Générale in 1716, Paris, in turn, became the 'financial capital of Europe'.[17] Thanks to Cardinal Richelieu, it was already the centre of the European luxury goods market, a phenomenon that quickly spread to England, and became an increasing cause for concern on both sides of the Channel in the early eighteenth century.[18] Fears about excessive consumption seemed realised after 1720, when the 'South Sea Bubble', including Law's Compagnie de l'Occident, burst, leaving many investors ruined.[19]

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[15] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, p.70; George Bickham, 'Telemachus his Description of the City of Tyre Apply'd to the City of London', in *The Universal Penman* (London: Printed for Robert Sayer, [1733-41]), XLIV, n.p.

[16] Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), p.25.

[17] John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: The Cresset Press, 1960), p.101.

[18] Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay*, rev. edn (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), pp.229-31. On the luxury debates, and the changing conception of capital during this period, see Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, trans. W. R. Dittmar (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1967); John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1977); *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, ed. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[19] On the South Sea Scheme, see Carswell, *South Sea Bubble*, and, for its visual representation, Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999) pp.57-82. Montgomery Hyde, *John Law: The History of an Honest Adventurer* (London: W. H. Allen, 1969) is a detailed, but thinly referenced account of Law's career; see also Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance: The Novel and the Culture of Gambling in Eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp.67ff.

Many, then, felt anxious about the implications of urban growth, and of the trade (of all types) thereby entailed.[20] John Dennis (1658-1734) considered London's opportunities during the century's early years symptomatic, not of possibility, but of destruction; 'the Generality of Men, when once they have given the Reigns [sic] to Luxury, can no more restrain it, than they can a Headlong Steed'.[21] On visiting Paris in the 1730s, Baron Pöllnitz described how, during the craze, it had:

> …look'd as if Fortune had resolved to put the Gentry into Almshouses, for the sake of inriching a Parcel of Bankrupts, Lackeys, Beggars, and other of the Nobility. And 'tis my real Opinion that if God had not interpos'd, Footmen would at length have been the Masters, and the Masters the Footmen'.[22]

While both these descriptions focus on finance, the risks identified are looser. Dennis conflates them with physical depletion and ideas of addiction; Pöllnitz characterises the Paris of the Bubble years as a world-turned-upside-down, finance threatening rightful hierarchies of power.

While both Watteau and Hogarth spent most of their lives in their respective capitals, there is an asymmetry in how their relationship with these cities has since been imagined.

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[20] On the link between consumption and cities, see Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, pp.24-37. For the later eighteenth-century spread of 'luxury' outside the city, see Sekora, *Luxury*, pp.64-65.

[21] John Dennis, *Vice and Luxury Publick Mischiefs: or, Remarks, on a Book Intituled, The Fable of the Bees…* (London: Printed for W. Mears, 1724), p.74.

[22] Charles Lewis, Baron de Pöllnitz, *The Memoirs of Charles Lewis Baron de Pöllnitz…*, 2 vols (London, Printed for Daniel Browne, 1737), II., pp.248-49.

'London,' wrote Roy Porter, 'permeates Hogarth's art; it is his inspirational *genius loci*'.[23] Porter's view dates back at least as far as Henry Wheatley's 1909 comment that Hogarth, 'a thorough Londoner […] never tired of exhibiting the life around him'.[24] By contrast, in 1903, Virgile Josz asserted that 'Watteau n'est pas Parisien. Watteau passe et ignore l'amusant des coquetteries, des commèrces de la foire au lard du parvis Notre-Dame', a description contrasting the 'aveugle' Watteau with the eyes-open streetwalker invoked by *L'Embaras de Paris*.[25] Although twenty-first century scholarship has increasingly contextualised Watteau, this has not seen a significant re-assessment of his urban connections, scholars instead tending to place him in the semi-rural environment of Versailles.[26] In the cultural imagination, Watteau therefore continues to inhabit the milieu of the *fêtes galantes* discussed in Chapter One, a focus apparently justified by the fame of *Cythère*, the 'feste galante' I discussed there.

While Part I addressed Hogarth's *Before* and *After* in the context of the 'Watteauesque' *fête galante*, Part II inverts that approach. How does Watteau engage with the urban environment, Hogarth's 'genius loci'? And how do the works of each artist respond to the issues raised

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[23] Roy Porter, 'Capital art: Hogarth's London', in *The Dumb Show: Image and Society in the Works of William Hogarth*, ed. Frédéric Ogée (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), pp.47-64 (p.47). For other examples of Hogarth being read 'through' London, see Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth: His Art and his World* (London: Hart-Davis; MacGibbon, 1977), e.g., p.11; Peter Quennell, *Hogarth's Progress* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), eg., pp.13, 23 and Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997), pp.ix-xviii.

[24] Henry B. Wheatley, *Hogarth's London: Pictures of the Manners of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Constable and Company, 1909), p.19.

[25] Virgile Josz, *Watteau: Mœurs du XVIII^e siècle*, 3rd edn (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1903), p.338.

[26] See, for example, Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century France* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2006). For Versailles in interpretations of Watteau, see Sarah Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. pp.246-41, and Georgia Cowart, 'De la fête monarchique à la fête galante dans "Les Plaisirs du bal" de Watteau', trans. Guy Spielmann, *Dix-huitième siècle*, 49 (2017), 247-61.

by these characterisations of the city as site of seduction? Chapter Three starts from the obvious moral risk to the urban walker: the prostitute. I begin with an earlier point in the story than does Defoe. How were women imagined to 'fall into' prostitution to begin with? Focusing on the first plate of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (fig. 54), intended (like the engraved *Before* and *After*) for a mass audience, I explore the intermediary figure of the urban bawd, arguing that Hogarth's series must be seen in the context of this inaugural 'seduction'. Chapter Four addresses the implications of urban commerce, and its relationship to other, more dangerous seductions. My focus here is Watteau's *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (fig. 71), the shop sign he created for his friend, the art dealer Edmé-François Gersaint, in 1721. Placing this emphatically in Paris, I ask how Watteau's representation of urban shopping relates to earlier examples. And what are the implications of his choice of an 'enseigne'; the shopkeeper's enticement to the urban walker?

CHAPTER THREE

'Mother-Made Matches':

Bawds and Prostitutes

In the first plate of *A Harlot's Progress*, Moll Hackabout leaves the York coach and enters London (fig. 54).[27] Her belongings, at the bottom right, signal her intended onward journey, to her 'lofing cosen in Thames Street', a short walk from the Bell Inn (identifiable behind her) on Wood Street, Cheapside.[28] However, this progress, from the coach to her bags and onward, is interrupted by a woman. Identified by George Vertue as the bawd Elizabeth 'Mother' Needham (d.1731), she will change Moll's projected journey through the city, leading her into the

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[27] A full précis of *A Harlot's Progress* has been provided comprehensively elsewhere. See [André Rouquet], *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un de ses amis à Paris pour lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth* (London: R. Dodsley, 1746), pp.3-12; John Trusler, *Hogarth Moralized…*, rev. edn ([1768] London: The Shakespeare Press, 1831), pp.1-19; John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: Boydell & Co., 1812), I., pp.1-25; Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *G.C Lichtenberg's ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche* (Göttingen, 1794-9; Erfurt: Gebr. Richters Verlagsanstalt, 1949), pp.44-91, which was translated by Innes and Gustav Herdan, *Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings* (London: The Cresset Press, 1966); pp.3-80. The most comprehensive discussion in modern scholarship remains Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, rev. edn, 3 vols (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991-2) I., pp.237-336, but see also Lindsay, *Hogarth*, pp.49-69; David Bindman, *Hogarth*, 2nd edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), pp.55-62; Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon 2000), pp.73-95; Mark Hallett and Christine Riding, *Hogarth* (London: Tate Gallery, 2006), cat. 43, pp. 73-75, 80-85; Elizabeth Einberg, *Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), cats. 21-26, pp.56-61. For race in the *Harlot*, see David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth-century English Art* (Kingston-upon-Thames: Dangaroo Press, 1985), pp.101-21; for its position within eighteenth-century prostitution narratives, Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.93-129 and Carter, *Purchasing Power*, pp.27-50. For a detailed discussion of the prints and their facture, James Grantham Turner, '"A Wanton Kind of Chace": Display as Procurement in *A Harlot's Progress* and its Reception' in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.38-61.

[28] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1970), I. cat. 131, pp.143-45 (p.143).

darkened room behind them, into the clutches of the figure in the doorway.[29] André Rouquet wrote that this was 'le portrait d'un officier très-riche, fameux dans ce tems-là pour de pareilles expéditions, grand séducteur de campagnardes'; Vertue named him as Colonel Francis Charteris (c.1665-1732).[30] Charteris, like Mother Needham, wears dark clothes, and only half-emerges from the shadows. Moll will join them there. This is the only scene of her Progress set outside, in the sunlight, a vanishing strip of sky behind.

This plate inaugurates the country girl's arrival in the city. It also eschews the obvious interaction between Moll and Charteris, locating her seduction in her inaugural meeting with Mother Needham. This seduction is both literal—a leading from one path to another—and implicitly sexual, hinted by the physical contact between the two women, a contrast to the masculine-feminine seduction of *Before* and *After*.[31] Despite Rouquet's 'grand séducteur de campagnardes' in the shadows, Moll's 'fall' is engineered, not by him, but by the female intermediary between them: the London bawd. As John Ireland described this scene:

> The snares are set, the plot is laid,
> Ruin awaits thee,—hapless maid!
> Seduction sly assails thine ear,
> And gloating, foul desire is near.[32]

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[29] Vertue Note Books vol. III, *Walpole Society*, XXII (1933-34), p.58.

[30] [Rouquet], *Lettres*, pp.4-5; Vertue, vol. III, p.58.

[31] For an alternative reading of this gesture, see Scott J. Juengel, 'Of Beauty, Cruelty, and Animal Life: Hogarth's Baroque', *Differences: a Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 16:1 (2005), 24-62 (p.43). The implicit sexuality becomes explicit in Fanny Hill's seduction by a bawd's female accomplice in John Cleland's erotic novel *Fanny Hill; or, Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, ed. Peter Wagner ([1749] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 48-51. For a discussion of a similar instance of same-sex seduction in the contemporaneous French context, see David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau and Mary Shelley* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.86-101.

[32] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, I. p.1.

Ireland distinguishes between Mother Needham, the seducer, like the snake of Genesis, 'assail[ing] [Moll's] ear', and Colonel Charteris ('gloating, foul desire').[33] His vision of a progress from innocence to experience routed through the bawd was familiar to Hogarth's contemporaries. In 1712, Richard Steele observed of 'those Hags of Hell whom we call Bawds' that 'it must not be thought a Digression […] to talk of [them] in a Discourse upon Wenches; for a Woman of the Town is not thoroughly and properly such, without having gone through the Education of one of these Houses'.[34]

Commentators often cite Steele's essay as an influence on the *Harlot*, partly because of its subsequent description of 'the most artful Procuress in the Town, examining a most beautiful Country-Girl, who had come up in the same Waggon with my things'.[35] However, the bawd's appearance beside country wagons was a more broadly established trope in the stock eighteenth-century narrative of seduction into prostitution. Its prominence emphasised bawds' centrality to that narrative, reiterating the misogynistic idea of 'the central role that women played in the undoing of their own sex'.[36] However, it also spoke to anxieties about the city. As Steele had it, and Ireland after him, the story is of a country naïf, descending from a coach, into the urban underworld. It must have seemed pertinent in a period when economic migrants, like Moll, from rural areas, represented a sizeable proportion of a new influx of people into the city.[37]

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[33] Genesis 3:1.

[34] [Richard Steele], *The Spectator*, No. 266 (Friday 4 January, 1712), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), II. pp.534-37 (p.535).

[35] Richard D. Altick, 'Humorous Hogarth: His Literary Associations', *The Sewanee Review*, 47:2 (April - June, 1939), 255-67 (p.259); Paulson, *Hogarth,* I., pp.238-39.

[36] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, p.111; see also Carter's illuminating discussion of the bawd-figure generally, pp. 105-28.

[37] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, rev. edn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.38-40.

This chapter starts with Mother Needham to consider Hogarth's address to urban seduction. I argue that his first 'Progress' should be seen in the context of contemporary discussions of seduction into prostitution, within which the city itself loomed large. Like the *Harlot* itself, these often effaced the lustful men addressed in Chapter Two, focusing instead on the intermediary bawd-figure, gendered, in another Biblical echo, 'a true Daughter of *Eve*'.[38] Though I follow Mark Hallett and Sophie Carter, both of whom highlight the importance of the graphic and popular context of Hogarth's work to the *Harlot*, I focus on how these sources elucidate Moll's entry into prostitution, and its mediation through the city. I therefore primarily address Hogarth's first plate.[39]

The second half of this chapter considers Ronald Paulson's suggestion that Hogarth drew on a painting by Watteau in formulating that first plate's composition. Like Hogarth's engraving, Watteau's early *La Diseuse d'aventure* (fig. 57) focuses on an interaction between two women from different worlds. However, I want to place it in the broader tradition of the art historical 'fortune teller' motif, to suggest that, for Hogarth's purposes, the most important aspect of Watteau's precedent was its vision of a mediated transition from one state to another, effected through a promised change in fortune. At the same time, by discussing the range of meanings that 'fortune' implies, I complicate Paulson's suggestion of Watteau's influence on Hogarth, placing the 'diseuse d'aventure' in a longer tradition of fortune tellers. I argue that 'fortune' as incarnated in these works by Hogarth and Watteau intersected with eighteenth-century discussions about the seductions of the metropolis itself.

While *La Diseuse d'aventure* seems distinct from the urban underworld delineated by Hogarth, I conclude with an example of a direct address to prostitution within Watteau's

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[38] [Anonymous], *The Constables Hue and Cry After Whores & Bawds, &c…* (London: Printed for John Smith [1701]), p.6.

[39] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.93-129; Carter, *Purchasing Power*, pp.27-50.

oeuvre. The lost painting known as *Le Départ pour les isles* (fig. 66) was considered by the Goncourts to show 'l'ironie naturelle de l'esprit de Watteau', describing 'avec une intention évidemment caricaturale, la *presse* des filles de joie'.[40] Though little discussed, and often dismissed, by Watteau scholars, this picture belongs to a specific moment in Paris's history, when prostitutes ('filles de joie') were forcibly dispatched (in what the Goncourts call 'la *presse*') to the 'new world' of French Louisiana. As a representation of coercion, it provides a suggestive alternative to the *Harlot*'s depiction of seduction into prostitution. Moreover, in addressing the '*presse*', it focuses on the end of the 'harlot's progress' rather than the beginning; the 'after', not the 'before'.

The eighteenth-century bawd

Published a decade after Steele's essay, and eight years before the *Harlot*, the anonymous *Genuine History of Mrs Sarah Prydden* described the life of the celebrated courtesan Sarah Prydden, also known as Sally Salisbury, convicted of attempted murder in 1723.[41] Salisbury's bawd is identified as 'Mother Wyburn', and described as having a similar *modus operandi* to Hogarth's Mother Needham: 'Each morning, she took her Rounds to all the Inns to see what Youth and Beauty the *Country* had sent to *London*'. Every 'Rural pretty Lass' is met with 'smoothing Language' and the offer of 'an Appartment, and all Accomodations in her House,

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[40] Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1873-80; Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1896), I., p.64.

[41] For Sarah Prydden, see Lena Olsson, '"A First-Rate Whore": Prostitution and Empowerment in the Early Eighteenth Century', in Lewis and Ellis, *Prostitution*, pp.71-85.

gratis, till she saw if she should like the Town, *for 'twas but a sad wicked Place, full of Temptations for young Girls, but the Almighty would deliver his good Children*.'[42]

This seduction highlights the dangers of the 'Town' where the new arrival finds herself, and almost the same language is later used by John Cleland's bawd, Mrs Brown, on the titular *Fanny Hill* (1749), who recalls being told 'that London was a very wicked, vile place, that she hoped I would be tractable and keep out of bad company'.[43] As canny readers would have known, such offers of protection would result in the events shown in the rest of the *Harlot*: the girl would be handed over to a client, after which loss of virginity she would either choose or be forced into a life of prostitution.[44]

These examples suggest a popular reference point for the unheard blandishments of Hogarth's Mother Needham, herself perhaps also offering Moll safe passage through the 'wicked, vile' city. The *Genuine History* highlights the powers of such persuasions, asking readers to pity 'Mrs Pryddon' if she 'was seduced to wander in the softer Paths of Pleasure at a tender age, unable to distinguish between Good and Evil' and to blame 'if any, those who, when she was young and innocent, first betray'd her Innocence and Youth'.[45] As in the examples cited in Chapter Two, this imagines the seducer as possessing particular rhetorical prowess. However, in emphasising both the 'innocence' of the young, and their susceptibility to evil influence, the author also recalls the educational theories of John Locke (1632-1704),

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[42] [Anonymous], *The Genuine History of Mrs Sarah Prydden…* (London: Printed for Andrew Moor, 1723), p.20.

[43] Cleland, *Fanny Hill*, p.45.

[44] See Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, pp.135-42.

[45] *Genuine History*, p.vi.

who 'imagine[d] the Minds of Children as easily turned this or that way, as Water it self', establishing the idea that the adult a child becomes is determined by those around them.[46]

Much eighteenth-century antipathy to bawds hinged on this. An older woman, from whom a naïve young girl might expect to find sympathy, the bawd is driven entirely by avarice, and therefore doubly perverse. While the male seducer is driven by a lust that is at least natural, if regrettable, the bawd is a 'Wretch who lives upon the Spoils of Virtue', a woman who 'having undon[e] herself, never leaves tempting others'.[47] Imagined primarily as a mediator of opposite-sex relationships, rather than a sexual seducer of women in her own right, the bawd would (as the anonymous author of *The Constables Hue and Cry After Whores & Bawds* put it) 'make Men Atheists, and young Women Whores', only 'To heap up Gold, which she so much adores'.[48] This pragmatism is in ironic contrast to the bawd's traditional epithet as a 'Mother', an honorific identifying her with the more tender of the parents discussed by Locke.[49] Along with 'abbess', this nomenclature dates back at least as far as the

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[46] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* [1693], ed. John W. Yolton and Jean S. Yolton, in *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke*, ed. J. R. Milton, 22 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975-2012), VII., pp.83-84. On Hogarth and Locke, see Katharine Eustace, 'The Key is Locke: Hogarth, Rysbrack and the Foundling Hospital', *The British Art Journal*, VII:2 (Autumn, 2006), 34-49. Hogarth also gives a Lockean description of children's development in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson ([1753] New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp.94-101.

[47] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman, being a Compendious View of All the Trades…* (London: Printed by T. Gardner, 1747), p.209; *Constables Hue and Cry*, p.6. For a late example of the assumption that a bawd is an old prostitute, see Charles Horne, *Serious Thoughts on the Miseries of Seduction and Prostitution…* (London: Swift & Son, 1783), p.17, and for a discussion, Carter, *Purchasing Power*, p.13. For an eighteenth-century bawd's own perspective, see Kathryn Norberg, 'In Her Own Words: An Eighteenth-century Madam Tells her Story', in *Prostitution*, ed. Lewis and Ellis, pp.34-43; on the relationship between sex work and capitalism, Laura Mandell, 'Bawds and Merchants: Engendering Capitalist Desires', *ELH*, 59:1 (Spring, 1992), 107-23.

[48] *Constables Hue and Cry*, p.8.

[49] Locke's perception of motherhood is encapsulated in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. Yolton, pp. 84-87. For a discussion of the 'new idealisation and sentimentalisation of maternal duties' later in this period, see Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp.83-114.

Renaissance, apparently at once a satiric reference to legitimate female authority, and a misogynistic anxiety about how such authority might be abused.[50]

The bawd's deceptive combination of apparent affection and hardened business nous is encapsulated in Mother Needham's (seemingly) tender touch of Moll's face. A subtler version of the more overtly declarative gesture of the rural seducer in Hogarth's *Before*, this is at once a blandishment and an attempt to decide, by raising her chin, whether she will be a good investment. On first meeting Sally Salisbury, Mother Wyburn is similarly said to have 'caused her to pluck off all her Cloths, felt every Limb one by one, touch'd her to see if she was sound; as a *Jockey* handles a Horse or Mare in *Smithfield*'.[51] Salisbury is already a prostitute, so, having no further need of 'smoothing Language', this bawd can be direct and straightforward, as Mother Needham cannot. Indeed, Salisbury may share this sense of freedom: the prostitute was popularly imagined to share the bawd's love of 'Gold', contributing to the perception, described by Carter, that prostitution could thereby endlessly 'reproduce itself'.[52]

In 1733, John Durant de Breval's (1680?-1738) poem *The Lure of Venus* provided a backstory for Hogarth's heroine. It imagines Mother Needham working on this tendency in Moll, promising her, in addition to security, 'Garments rich and gay'.[53] Moll is already susceptible to this particular temptation, having, as De Breval argues, been enticed to the city by 'Strange Dreams of Grandeur'.[54] Mother Needham's blandishments are therefore envisaged

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[50] Jennifer Panek, 'The Mother as Bawd in "The Revenger's Tragedy" and "A Mad World, My Masters"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 43:2 (Spring, 2003), 415-37. For maternal identity in whore narratives later in the century, see also Jennie Batchelor, 'Mothers and Others: Sexuality and Maternity in the "Histories of some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House" (1760)', in *Prostitution*, ed. Lewis and Ellis, pp.157-69.

[51] *Genuine History*, p.22.

[52] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, p.113.

[53] Joseph Gay [John Durant de Breval], *The Lure of Venus: Or, A Harlot's Progress. An Heroi-Comical Poem in Six Cantos…* (London, 1733), p.8.

[54] [De Breval], *Lure of Venus*, p.4.

as working on a mind that is both vulnerable and also, to some extent, pre-primed by the city itself—as De Breval puts it, 'by Vanity betray'd, / And unto Vice an easy Victim made'.[55] This reading places money at the centre of the young girl's seduction, reading the bawd as both product and representative of the '*sad wicked place*' she claims to warn her dupes against.

These dupes would quickly find out the bawd's true nature. In 1723, the *Daily Journal* reported that an associate of the historical Mother Needham, a 'Mother Sylvester', had sued a fourteen year-old for theft, only for it to be discovered that the girl 'had been seduced from her Friends by the said Sylvester, and had been twice salivated [treated for venereal disease], having been in the Service ever since she was eleven Years of Age'.[56] The girl's extreme youth cannot have been unusual; on average, London prostitutes were younger than in Paris (aged 18-20, against 22), with many between 11-14.[57] However, Mother Sylvester's attempt to bring the law onto her victim suggests that she saw the relationship between this child and herself as one of duty, as well as dependence. Refusing the maternal support a younger woman might anticipate, the bawd nonetheless continues to draw on parental concepts of obedience and authority, a reflection of Locke's supposition that 'every one will judge it reasonable, that their Children, *when little*, should look upon their Parents as their Lords, their Absolute Governors'.[58]

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[55] [De Breval], *Lure of Venus*, p.44.

[56] *Daily Journal,* Tuesday 13 July, 1725, f.p. For the treatment of venereal disease in this period, see Mary Margaret Stewart, '"And Blights with Plagues the Marriage Hearse": Syphilis and Wives', in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), pp.103-13 (pp.106-11); for venereal disease and prostitution from the 1730s onwards, see Kathryn Norberg, 'From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease, 1730-1802', in ibid., pp.34-50.

[57] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, pp.116-18; for Paris, Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.267-269. Benabou's sample group is from later in the century, but the average age of prostitutes decreases after 1725, women under 25 representing 57% of arrested women in 1787, compared to 37.3% in 1719. For the link between teenage 'prostitution' and the desire to avoid venereal disease see Kathryn Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600-1814* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p.48.

[58] Locke, *Thoughts Concerning Education*, VII., p.109.

A few years after Hogarth's *Harlot*, Christopher Bullock's 'Mother Griffin', in *A Woman's Revenge; or, a Match in Newgate* (1735) apparently has similar expectations, berating the harlot Corinna: 'Have you forgot how kind I have been to you, Hussy? Did I not take you from the Waggon, a poor, ignorant, awkard [sic] Country Girl […] did I not put thee into a good Condition, give thee fine Cloaths, trick'd thee up, and brought thee into the best company?'[59] Yet another instance of the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' trope, Mother Griffin's complaint that Corinna should 'be asham'd to use a Woman of my Years, at this rate' is also the apparent grievance of 'Mother Sylvester'. Both bawds build on the idea of maternal authority, and, as demonstrated by the outcomes, on the concomitant expectation of maternal feeling too. Rather than waiting by the coaching inn to provide a route *through* the 'sad wicked' Town, they betray their dupes to it.

However, the bawd's perversion of motherhood also calls attention to the potential abuse of legitimate parental authority. Four years before the *Harlot*, Defoe's *Conjugal Lewdness; or Matrimonial Whoredom* (1727) had bemoaned the pervasive '*Mother-Made Match*', a marriage initiated by an ambitious mother and drawn up between young people indifferent to each other. Such a union, Defoe had said, was 'no Marriage', but rather 'a *Rape* upon Innocence and Virtue'; since choice constrained is no choice at all, a man and wife so united were merely '*Whore* and *Rogue*'.[60] Linking the respectively legitimate and illegitimate worlds of marriage and prostitution, Defoe's language prefigures the 'match' made between Moll and Charteris by 'Mother' Needham. Like the bawd, the genuine mother is driven by worldly aims, and her methods sound similar to those of Mother Needham; the 'wife' of *Conjugal*

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[59] Christopher Bullock, *A Woman's Revenge: or, A Match in Newgate…* (London: Printed for W. Feales, 1735), pp.25-26.

[60] [Daniel Defoe], *Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom* (London: Printed for T. Warner, 1727), pp.174-5, pp.177, 175.

Lewdness recalls being 'tickled with a Feather, and wheedled up with being *a Lady*' by her own over-persuasive mother.[61]

Conjugal Lewdness may only lurk in the background of the *Harlot*, but its arguments are recognisable in a later 'Modern Moral Subject' which saw Hogarth develop and expand his address to parental authority. The 'Marriage Settlement' that inaugurates *Marriage à la Mode* (1743-45) (fig. 55) includes none of the 'mother's' blandishments, but this bride and groom may still 'fancy themselves', like Defoe's couple (and like Moll) 'Persons only bought and sold'.[62] Indeed, Hogarth juxtaposes the unhappy pair with two hunting dogs tied together, a visual echo of Defoe's description of such a marriage as 'a Yoke indeed, and two Beasts to draw in it'.[63] Clearly coerced, this union is sealed by the legal documentation lying prominently on the table.

It is therefore striking that actual mothers should be absent from the series. The 'Marriage Settlement' is not '*Mother-Made*', but rather what Defoe had called a '*Money-Made* match', drawn up between fathers who enforce obedience through coercion and authority rather than the persuasions favoured by the feminine parent (whether parodic bawd or aspirational mother). At the same time, as Hogarth makes clear, while gender and tactics may differ, the motivations of legitimate and illegitimate parents are substantively the same. Describing 'The Marriage Settlement', Rouquet observed that '[l]es grands ne se trouvent pas assez riches, les riches ne se croyent pas assez distinguez', pinpointing the twin incentives for the merchant and the Earl: avarice and pride.[64]

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[61] Defoe *Conjugal Lewdness*, p.175.

[62] Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness*, p.172.

[63] Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness*, p.172. The connection between Defoe and Hogarth is also suggested by Lindsay, *Hogarth*, p.123.

[64] Rouquet, *Lettres*, p.29.

The fluidity in *Marriage à la Mode* between legitimacy and illegitimacy is underlined by its third scene, 'The Inspection', set in St Martin's Lane.[65] Here appears a figure whom Rouquet identified as 'une de ces femmes qui perdues depuis longtems, font enfin leur métier de la perte des autres' (fig. 56).[66] She appears responsible for the Viscount's pre-pubescent prostitute, who recalls the fourteen-year-old 'seduc[ed] from her Friends' by Mother Sylvester. The consequences of this seduction are here revealed as disease and death, and the bawd of 'The Inspection' pulls, not only her hand, but indeed her whole body away from the tainted girl presented to her.[67] This symbolic disavowal contrasts with the acquisitive gesture of Mother Needham in the *Harlot*, a version of which presumably also inaugurated this girl's 'seduction'.

'The Inspection' has confused viewers almost since it was painted and although, as Martin Postle highlights, 'the main problem […] centres on the presence of the young girl', scholars have been reluctant to engage with her.[68] Robert Cowley, whose discussion of *Marriage à la Mode* defined the field, sidestepped her age, arguing that she demonstrates an 'immodesty […] slovenliness and […] affectation' not really borne out by the sickly, distressed figure in the painting itself.[69] Indeed, any satirical intent along these lines would jar with

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[65] For the links between Dr Misaubin, the historical doctor shown in this painting, and St Martin's Lane, see Leslie G. Matthews, 'London's Immigrant Apothecaries, 1600-1800', *Medical History*, 18 (July, 1974), 262-74 (17fn, 273). For Misaubin himself, who also appears in the *Harlot*, see Barry Hoffbrand, 'John Misaubin, Hogarth's Quack: a Case for Rehabilitation', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 94 (March, 2001), 143-47.

[66] Rouquet, *Lettres*, p.34.

[67] For disease in this plate, and in Hogarth's oeuvre, see N. F. Lowe, 'The Meaning of Venereal Disease in Hogarth's Graphic Art', in *Secret Malady*, ed. Merians, pp.168-82 (pp.176-77).

[68] Martin Postle, 'Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode", Scene III: A Re-inspection of "The Inspection", *Apollo*, 429 (November, 1997), 38-39 (p.38).

[69] Robert S. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p.85. Cowley's view was anticipated by William Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art: and Sketches of the Picture Galleries of England* (London: John Templeman, 1843), pp.145-46.

Hogarth's involvement in Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital, which 'seems to have permanently interested' him during this same period.[70] Other scholars have tended to skip over the girl, or to consider her a symptom of the Viscount's peccadillos.[71] However, she is the picture's heart. In 'The Inspection' the Viscount enters the geographic and symbolic world of *A Harlot's Progress*, and becomes part of the seduction triad identified in the first plate: girl, bawd, client. In the *Harlot*, this triad calls attention to the complex relationships of power between the bawd and the girl. In *Marriage à la Mode* the girl's extreme youth highlights that power's fundamental illegitimacy. 'The Inspection' exemplifies an explicitly exploitative urban 'seduction' within the broader context of a 'Progress' addressing the legal coercion of children by their legitimate parents, in interiors sheltered from the city streets.

As I have argued, the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' trope in the *Harlot* raises similar questions of authority and influence. However, this trope is also appropriate for Colonel Charteris, the secondary figure implicated in Moll's destruction. Like Needham, Charteris was notorious in the 1730s, pardoned after being found guilty of the rape of his maidservant, Anne Bond, in February 1730.[72] Several biographical pamphlets were issued during this period. The earliest

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[70] Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., p.325. For Hogarth and Coram, see also pp.323-41 and David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp.159-74.

[71] For this trope, see Quennell, *Hogarth's Progress*, p.174. An example of a reading that sidesteps the question of coercion is Riding and Hallett, *Hogarth*), cat. 77, pp.146-52 (pp.148-49). Other readings focus on venereal disease: Postle, 'Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode"', pp.38-39, suggests she is a proposed 'cure'; Lichtenberg thought that the Viscount had discovered her private supply of pills; see Lichtenberg, *G.C Lichtenberg's ausführliche Erklärung*, p.154. The only reading to focus on child abuse is Bernd W. Krysmanski, who argues that Hogarth himself was a pederast: *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Hour in Eighteenth-century English Art* (Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Geog Olms Verlag, 2010), pp.217-27 (pp.220-23).

[72] Page Life, 'Charteris, Francis (*c.*1665–1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5175?rskey=Ld89xo&result=4 [accessed 21 July 2017]. Paulson recounts Charteris's trial and mobbing in *Hogarth*, I., pp.242-6.

and most extensive was *The Life of Colonel Don Francisco,* published anonymously in 1729-30. Later iterations in 1730 included *The Life of Colonel Ch—-, Rape-Master-General of Great Britain*, *Some Authentick Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Ch—-* and *Scotch Gallantry display'd: the Life and Adventures of the unparralel'd Col. Fr-nc-es Ch-rt-s.* These all offer further examples of 'bawds at wagons', Charteris reported as sending either 'agents' or bawds to seek out 'fresh Country Lasses just arriv'd'.[73] Unlike Steele's *Spectator* essay, however, the pamphlets are almost contemporary with the development of the *Harlot*, and focus on a figure Hogarth used in it.[74] Though Steele's early expression of the idea is certainly important, this group of texts clustered around the 1730s is therefore more directly relevant to the contemporaneous development of the *Harlot*. However, only the first of the biographies is used by Paulson, and by scholars following him.[75]

The *Authentick Memoirs* explain Charteris's use of bawds at wagons as a wish to seduce, specifically, women of a *'lower* station'. *Don Francisco*, meanwhile, records it as an expedient to avoid the 'necessary Inconveniencies and the wretched Concomitants' of visiting prostitutes.[76] This presumably alludes to the twin risks of venereal disease and theft, accidents that befall 'Don Francisco' elsewhere in the text.[77] However, it also prefigures Lovelace's insistence, in *Clarissa*, that he will only seduce virgins, since 'I have been always

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[73] [Anonymous], *Scotch Gallantry Display'd: or the Life and Adventures of the Unparralel'd Col. Fr-nc-s Ch-rt-s…* (London: Sold by the Booksellers of Town and Country, 1730), pp.25-26; [Anonymous], *Some Authentick Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Ch—-s, Rape-Master-General of Great Britain…* (London: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1730), pp.9-10.

[74] [Anonymous], *The Life of Colonel Don Francisco…* (London: Printed for the Author, 1730), p.18.

[75] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.242ff; see also Charlotte Grant, 'Visible Prostitutes: Mandeville, Hogarth and "A Harlot's Progress"', in *Prostitution*, ed. Lewis and Ellis, pp.99-113 (p.103). One use of the Charteris text, which ignores the *Spectator*, is Uglow, *Hogarth*, pp.193-95.

[76] *Authentick Memoirs*, pp.9-10; *Colonel Don Francisco*, pp.17-18.

[77] *Don Francisco*, pp.38-40.

aiming at the merit of a first discoverer'.[78] The 'first discovery' of Moll's body is imagined as a physical equivalent to Mother Needham's verbal impression on her 'easily turned' young mind, and these contexts indicate that (despite the series' title), when read through Charteris's history, Plate 1 is more about seduction than sex work.[79] Nonetheless, that seduction's outcome is to drive Moll into the formalised prostitution that men like Charteris later make a virtue of eschewing.

In their focus on the rapist-seducer, this spate of biographies invites a reading of Hogarth's print that calls attention to the range of perspectives open to the viewer within its central triad of harlot-bawd-client. If read through the Charteris biographies, Moll's seduction can be re-positioned within the male narrative arc of Charteris's life, from his birth to a 'moderate family' with 'generous and well concerted Designs', to his descent into indulgence of 'his sensual Appetites, in which his Luxury and Lust had the preeminence'.[80] This description imagines Charteris himself as having some kind of moral fall, and indeed a similar male-oriented narrative would underpin Hogarth's next series, *A Rake's Progress* (1732-34).

In practice, this proliferation of possible perspectives expands the agencies involved in Moll's seduction and thereby (as in *Marriage à la Mode*) highlights broader questions of consent and power. In the light of the testimony given in *Don Francisco* by 'Sarah Selleto', declaring that Charteris had 'laid violent Hands on her […] but upon her resisting, he clapp'd a Pistol to her Breast', we are invited to interpret Moll's experience between Plates 1 and 2 of

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[78] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa; or, the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross, rev. edn ([1747-8] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), p.674. For a reading of 'sentimental libertinism' as incarnated in Richardson's Belford, who only seduces 'fallen' women, see Tiffany Potter, '"A Certain Sign that He is One of Us": "Clarissa's" Other Libertines', *Eighteenth-century Fiction*, 11:4 (1999), 403-20 (pp.406-19).

[79] This can be compared with Paris's rule at mid-century that no brothel could admit a virgin as a prostitute: see Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718-1789* (Baton Rouge; London: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp.100-2.

[80] *Don Francisco*, pp.5, 17.

the *Harlot* as rape and coercion.[81] In this context, Moll's fall and subsequent progress can be understood, not so much as a choice brought about by the bawd's seduction, but rather as a product of the broader (power) structures in which that seduction takes place, which make the truth of her choice and consent difficult to assess.

The 'bawd-at-the-wagon' motif, which draws Hogarth's Charteris, Moll and Needham together, endured in popular culture into the last decades of the eighteenth century.[82] However, Randolph Trumbach has suggested it was more usual for prostitutes in this era to begin their careers as London servants before entering sex work.[83] The capital's prostitutes were also statistically less likely to be rural immigrants than the 'daughters of the London poor'. Erica-Marie Benabou describes a similar situation in Paris, where many prostitutes came to the profession only after trying, and failing, to settle into (or find sufficient sustenance from) officially sanctioned jobs.[84] This suggests that the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' trope on which Hogarth built his series arose less from objective reality than from a sense that the story spoke to particular eighteenth-century anxieties. The focus on the kind of 'beautiful Country-Girl' whom Steele spotted from 'one of the Boxes' at the inn emphasises a physically distant vision of rural innocence in contrast to the everyday realities of the frequently derided

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[81] *Don Francisco*, p.50

[82] For example, John Fielding, *A Brief Description of the Cities of London and Westminster…* (London: Printed for J. Wilkie, 1776), pp.xxvii-viii.

[83] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, p.147.

[84] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, pp.116-17, 143; Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.269-73. The majority of immigrants into English towns and cities during this period were women; see David Souden, 'Migrants and the Population Structure of Later Seventeenth-century Provincial Cities and Market Towns', in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, ed. Peter Clark (London: Hutchinson, 1984), pp.133-68 and Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 38 (1998), 63-84 (p.71).

urban servant.[85] It highlights the susceptibility of the girl's mind, and, by extension, the degeneracy of the bawd who corrupts it. Moreover, when read through the contemporary figure of Colonel Charteris, the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' highlights the ambiguities of Hogarth's plate, and Moll's situation within a complex eco-system of power.

At the same time, the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' also spoke to a fear about prostitution specifically rooted in the city, in contrast to an Arcadian vision of the countryside. A pseudonymous letter published in the *Weekly Journal* for October 1718 asked another possible Moll, 'Amynta by Lincoln', if she really sought to leave 'the silent Quiet of the Country for the noisy Distraction of the City' and 'forsake Simplicity and Innocence for Hurry and Deceit?'[86] De Breval imagined a similar innocence for a younger Moll, who, in Yorkshire, had 'Happy […] liv'd, as in *Saturnian* Times, / When Peace and Plenty fill'd *Hesperian* Climes'.[87] Hogarth's plate marks his own distinction between country and city (and 'before' and 'after') through the rose at Moll's breast. This natural (and implicitly erotic) symbol simultaneously highlights her innocence, her vulnerability and her desirability. It also contrasts with the powdered and spotted skin of Mother Needham, in whose beauty patches Peter Wagner sees signs both of artifice and encroaching disease, twin symptoms of the '*sad wicked*' town to which the country girl has come.[88]

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[85] For attitudes to servants, see [Steele], *The Spectator*, No. 88 (Monday 7 June, 1711), in *The Spectator*, ed. Bond, I., pp.372-76. Amanda Vickery discusses the 'servant problem', in *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.141-46.

[86] *The Original Weekly Journal*, Saturday 11 October 1718, f.p.

[87] [De Breval], *Lure of Venus*, p.4. See also Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Milk and Soot: The Changing Vocabulary of a Popular Ritual in Stuart and Hanoverian London', in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp.83-194.

[88] Peter Wagner, 'Spotting the Symptoms: Hogarthian Bodies as Sites of Semantic Ambiguity', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, pp.102-19 (p.107). On Hogarth's treatment of the diseased body, see also David Solkin, 'The Fetish over the Fireplace: Disease as "Genius Loci" in Hogarth's "Marriage-à-la-Mode"', *British Art Journal*, 2:1 (Autumn, 2000), 26-34.

La Diseuse d'aventure

Mother Needham is central in Moll Hackabout's seduction into prostitution, as is clear from contemporaneous discussions of bawds. However, her importance is also clear from Hogarth's composition. It is therefore interesting that Paulson should have suggested a particular source for this composition in the work of Watteau. Reading the meeting in the *Harlot*'s first plate as a satiric version of the Biblical Visitation between the Virgin Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, Paulson adds: 'Hogarth [also] draws on the memory of a particular Watteau composition: the two central figures in […] Watteau's *La Diseuse d'aventure*' (fig. 57).[89] He does not expand, but notes it of 'no small significance that this representation of a fortune teller rose to the surface of Hogarth's memory when he needed a figure of a bawd predicting a rosy future to a young countrywoman with city aspirations'.[90] For Paulson, Watteau's composition intersects with (but is subservient to) the Choice of Hercules theme which he considers central to Hogarth's work; he reads Plate 1 as Moll's choice between Vice and Virtue, incarnated in the bawd and the parson.[91] However, the parson lacks the presence of his apparent equivalent, Mother Needham, and (as suggested) Moll's 'choice' is at least partly constrained. Indeed, as Frédéric Ogée has highlighted, she is probably not precisely aware of its nature; Mother Needham is unlikely to be explicitly promising anything other than practical support.[92]

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[89] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., pp.259, 280-81. On the Visitation reference, and other examples of 'sacred parody' in the series, see also Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp.37-98.

[90] Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975), p.42.

[91] For the 'Choice of Hercules' in the *Harlot*, see Paulson, *Emblem and Expression*, pp.30, 42, 49, 73; *Hogarth*, I., pp.281-83; *Hogarth's Harlot*, p.109.

[92] Frédéric Ogée, 'Introduction', in *Dumb Show*, ed. Ogée, pp.1-26 (p.11 and fn29); Paulson's use of the motif is critiqued by Peter Wagner, 'How to Mis(Read) Hogarth: Or, Ekphrasis Galore', *1650-1850, Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 2 (1996), 203-40 (pp.228-29).

In connecting Hogarth's composition with Watteau's, Paulson's language is (perhaps deliberately) ambiguous. Hogarth 'draws on the memory' of Watteau's painting, which 'rose to the surface' of his mind, a formulation leaving the nature of the borrowing, or influence, unclear. However, the fortune teller motif resonates more clearly with Hogarth's bawd than does the Choice of Hercules. I therefore want to develop here the implications of Paulson's briefly proposed source.

In its seventeenth-century usage, the word 'fortune' ('one's condition or standing in life'), is closely linked with the Hogarthian term 'Progress' ('growth, development, usually to a better state or condition').[93] However, unlike 'choice', it also has associations of danger or romance ('a chance, hap, accident').[94] This is also reflected in the French term 'aventure', defined by the 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* as an 'accident, ce qui arrive inopinément' or an 'entreprise hasardeuse meslée quelquefois d'enchantement', combining an 'outcome' or 'event' with the magical and unexpected.[95] This section therefore places, first, Watteau's painting, and then the *Harlot* itself, in the context of the fortune teller tradition in the history of art.

Two painted versions of this early work by Watteau exist today, although Alan Wintermute has persuasively argued that the second, a damaged example sold in 2012, is the

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[93] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], "fortune, n.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/73751?rskey=Go4T7n&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid, n.5; "progress, n.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/152236?rskey=3J2Xcl&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid, n.I.1 [accessed 17 January 2018].

[94] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], "fortune, n.", 2.a.

[95] 'aventure', n., *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694, II., http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=aventure [accessed 14 June 2017].

prime version.[96] Watteau shows three elegantly dressed women, one having her palm read by the titular 'diseuse de bonne aventure'.[97] The composition was popular in the eighteenth century, engraved by Laurent Cars in December 1727 (fig. 58), and, specifically for an English market, by Claude du Bosc (1682-1745?), Thomas Ryley (c.1744-54) and an anonymous engraver sold by John Tinney in Fleet Street.[98] It is through these engravings that Paulson believes Hogarth found the composition.[99] Certainly, they were widespread enough to have reached George Bickham Junior, who plagiarised Watteau's composition for an illustration of 'Falshood' in his *Universal Penman* of 1733-41 (fig. 59). Bickham's use of Watteau reflects the iconographic history of the fortune teller in (particularly) French and Netherlandish art, which often conflated palmists with the Romani figure (the 'Égyptien', 'tsigane' or 'bohémien').[100] The 1701 edition of Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, revised by Jacques Basnage (1653-1723), defined the latter as 'certains gueux errans, vagabons & libertins qui vivent de larcins, d'adresse, & de filouteries; qui […] font profession de dire la bonne aven-

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[96] Alan Wintermute, Christie's sale, 'The Art of France', New York, 25 January 2012, lot. no. 110, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/attributed-to-jean-antoine-watteau-valenciennes-1684-1721-nogent-sur-marne-5529670-details.aspx [accessed 14 June 2017]. The attribution was based on the painting's poor condition, alluded to in early catalogues, in comparison with the San Francisco version. For the picture's date and different versions, see *Watteau, 1684-1721*, ed. Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, with Nicole Parmantier (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1984), cat. 8, pp.258-61 (pp.259-60).

[97] 'Bonne aventure' is the usual phrase in discussions of fortune tellers; Watteau's painting was listed as *La Diseuse de bonne aventure* by Théodore Lejeune, in his *Guide théorique et pratique de l'amateur de tableau*, 3 vols (Paris: Gide, 1863-5), I., p.216, and Wintermute, 'Art of France'. However, the names have long been interchangeable and I follow the more common nomenclature here.

[98] *Mercure de France*, December, 1727, pp.2676-77; For the engravings, see Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, 1929), III., cats. 30a-c, p.20.

[99] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.259.

[100] For the fortune teller trope, see *La Diseuse de bonne aventure de Caravage*, ed. Jean-Pierre Cuzin (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1977), pp.16-46 and Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997), cat. 22, pp. 133-36.

ture au peuple credule, & superstitieux'.[101] For the author of an anonymous 1709 report made to Louis XIV's confessor, meanwhile, 'La boue de Paris […] ne renferme rien d'aussi infâme que la race dite des […] voleurs, brigands, saltimbanques, Bohêmes, Zingari, Egyptiens, astrologues, diseurs de bonne aventure'.[102]

These descriptions identify the vagabond-fortune teller as itinerant and deceptive, part of a semi-criminal underclass, using subtlety ('adresse') to conjure fortunes for the 'crédule'. This reflects the official church position on palmistry and occult predictions, and was a reading exploited by painters such as Caravaggio (1571-1610) in realist depictions of the lowest of low-life scenes.[103] Bickham's 'Falshood' takes a similar view.[104] His annotation warns readers to 'Falshood shun as a Deceitful Guide', a metaphor highlighting the putative deception enacted by the fortune teller, imagined as a literal seducer, 'guiding' the righteous off the correct path. Bickham's major change to Watteau's composition underscores this. A range of possible paths open up behind the palmist; a wide, unknown landscape contrasting with the ordered, secure walled area from which the women have come.

However, while Bickham draws from this older tradition of the *tsigane*, Watteau's painting springs from a more ambiguous strand of artistic thought dating from the end of the seventeenth century, and explored in a number of prints and engravings.[105] In one example

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[101] Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois…*, rev. Jacques Basnage de Beauval, 3 vols (Paris: La Haye, 1701), I., 'bohemien' (n.p.). For the 'tsigane' in eighteenth-century France, see François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Tsiganes dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Société d'Édition Géographique et Touristique, 1961).

[102] Quoted in J. Peuchet, *Mémoires tirés des archives de la police de Paris…*, 6 vols (Paris: A. Levavasseur, 1838), I., p.208.

[103] De Jongh and Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life*, p.134; Jacques Thuillier, *Georges de la Tour*, trans. Fabia Claris, rev. edn (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), p.136; Cuzin, *Diseuse de bonne aventure*, pp.27ff.

[104] On Bickham's plagiary, see Amal Asfour and Paul Williamson, *Gainsborough's Vision* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp.58-68.

[105] Cuzin, *Diseuse de bonne aventure*, pp.17, 41-2.

by Andries Stock (1580-1648) (fig. 60), a fashionably-dressed young woman holds her hand out to a bedraggled (male) palmist, in a composition that anticipates Watteau's. This was later adapted in a Parisian engraving published by Jean Leblond (c.1590/4-1666) (fig. 61). Leblond's print is itself a hybridisation of graphic conventions. The fortune teller is cribbed from Stock's original; the woman from an engraving by Michel Lasne (c.1590-1667) (fig. 62).[106] It also echoes Lasne's scene of gallant courtship through its annotation, which runs: 'Toutte vostre bonne aventure, / Ne depend que de quelque amant'.[107] Viewers are invited to read the fortune being told as romantic: a future lover, or, as the annotation to Ryley's engraving after Watteau puts it, 'an easy Husband and a commanding Purse'.

This romantic focus is a fitting accompaniment to the changed compositional emphasis of, first Stock's, and then Leblond's engravings. Posed face-to-face, the two figures (man and woman) touch hands as at a wedding ceremony. However, what is exchanged is not love, but instead the standard requirement of the fortune teller: 'la pièce de monnaie […] qui doit, selon [il ou] elle, pour que la prédiction soit juste, être de métal précieux'.[108] The focus on money recalls the earlier tradition of the palmist as swindler, emphasising that, like the bawd, their motivation is financial. However, a later wash drawing by Guercino (fig. 63) pulls away from this tradition, removing money from the encounter and adding a cupid to make the erotic undertones explicit.

These examples imagine the fortune teller as a seductive figure, telling the dupe what they want to hear, and offering the frisson of the underground world of 'gueux errans' and its blasphemous, increasingly sexualised, predictions. The image of the fortune teller as a ragtag swindler is reflected in the pervasive, and ever-changing nature of the prints and print

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[106] De Jongh and Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life*, p.136, fn16.

[107] De Jongh and Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life*, p.136.

[108] Cuzin, *Diseuse de bonne aventure*, p.27.

conventions through which they were circulated. However, significantly, from Guercino's drawing onwards, the fortune teller's gender shifts. The figure becomes female, and so she remains in most subsequent iterations of the theme, including Watteau's. Woman palmists were not new, but these later examples also retain the female dupe; earlier artists, notably Georges de la Tour (1593-1652), had usually paired a woman palmist with a male customer.[109] As a result, rather than a romantic encounter between a man and a woman, the fortune-telling interaction is increasingly framed as a feminine encounter. This is how it continues in later eighteenth-century painted versions of the theme by François Boucher and, in Britain, Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), whose *Fortune Teller* (1777, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire) depicted 'A Gipsey […] telling a young Girl, sitting on her Lover's Knees, her Fortune, [seeming] to be saying to her, that she will soon be married to him'.[110] This gender shift allows for an implicit eroticism in the transgressive hand-to-hand contact between an upper-class and a lower-class woman. It also underlines the female fortune teller's role as intermediary, not actor, in the promised romance, clearing the way for an imaginative fusion with the bawd. However, this fusion only reaches its full potential when the setting shifts from the rural to the urban, thereby rooting the palmist directly in the 'boue de Paris'—a shift I discuss below.

The evidence of a small preparatory study for Watteau's fortune teller (fig. 64) shows that, like Leblond's engraver, he reduced his figures as he developed the picture, with the comparable effect of emphasising the interaction between the palmist and her client. The final stripped down composition therefore emphasises the unheard conversation, with its probable reference to 'quelque amant', to whose mystery the palmist calls attention by placing her finger at her lips. This dramatic focus prefigures the similar encounter in Watteau's

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[109] On the fortune teller's gender, see Thuillier, *Georges de la Tour*, p.136.

[110] 'Letter III, from an Italian Artist in London, to his Friend, an English Artist at Rome', *St James's Chronicle, or the British Evening Post*, No. 2517 (Saturday 26 - Tuesday 29 April, 1777), p.4.

later *Vertumne et Pomone* (fig. 65), a subject from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Having disguised himself as an old woman, the god Vertumnus persuades Pomona to consider his own romantic suit, acting as a seductive mediator on behalf of himself, but also providing an opportunity for a representation of seduction of a younger woman by an older one.[111] As Mary Vidal has highlighted, in Watteau's painting of this scene '[c]ontrived words as much as contrived appearances are at issue'.[112] Disguise and contrivance, combined with deceptive words, are a means of seduction, as Pomonus leans into his companion 'in a pose that suggests […] persuasive speech'.[113]

However, Pomonus's specific disguise also recalls the position of the fortune teller, which intersects with the position of Mother Needham in the narrative of the later *Harlot.* This position is underscored in *Don Francisco*, which reproduced a contract between Charteris and an unnamed bawd, undertaking to give her 'free egress and regress to his House, in order to prepare and tutor the Girls, to make them tractable and ready to comply with his request'; preparation that, as we have seen, also focused on contrived words and deception.[114] By contrast, though similarly showing a seduction triad, *Vertumne et Pomone* combines the lustful man and the intermediary bawd into a single 'contrived' figure, 'preparing and tutoring' his own would-be lover. *La Diseuse d'aventure*, on the other hand, shows a dyad: though probably also promising romance, the palmist presumably really *is* a (mysterious) woman.

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[111] For a comparative discussion of this issue with reference to Boucher's *Diana and Callisto*, see Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), pp. 205ff.

[112] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.60-62 (p.60).

[113] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.62.

[114] *Don Francisco*, p.18.

Rather than focusing on thievery or deception, Watteau's *Diseuse* follows the tradition established by Leblond and others, emphasising the transgressive interaction between two worlds. Though his *élégantes* are not necessarily from Paris, the wall behind them hints at their protective *châteaux* and *hôtels* as forcibly as their silks speak of the fashionable world of the city, their elegant patterns contrasting with their companion's plain brown shoes.[115] The world from which the palmist has come is unknown: there are none of the constructions of the *fête galante* to indicate human mastery of it, and the beggarly appearance of the palmist's child suggests it is not kind. Yet the compositional line between this world and the wall cuts across the connected hands of the lady and the palmist. At the same time, the ivy climbing on that wall renders this area ambiguous, a meeting of two worlds mirroring the connection between the two women.

Despite the similarity between Watteau's painting and the *Harlot*'s first plate, its most distinctive aspect is not so much Watteau's specific solution as his painting's status as an early eighteenth-century iteration of the fortune teller motif. Indeed, Watteau's version may have appealed to Hogarth specifically because of its stripped-down composition, which, when refigured, allows the *Harlot*'s protagonists to face each other (in Sophie Carter's words) 'almost like mirror images'.[116]

Urban fortune telling

As adapted in the *Harlot*, the respective meanings of the two worlds that meet in the fortune teller tradition have changed. The dupe is no longer an aristocrat, but instead a working-

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[115] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, p.259.

[116] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, p.116. Carter highlights many features present in Watteau's composition, but does not link them.

class girl, talking to a woman whose class position is initially unclear. Here in the position of the fortune teller, addressing the shabby rural figure of Moll, Mother Needham is decked out in the trappings of the city. The effect is to emphasise the seductions of the metropolis.

It is now London, rather than the rootless rural world, that is associated with the mystery and frisson of 'fortune', and its quasi-magical appeal to the naïve. This was a common interpretation of the stock 'harlot's progress': the Swiss traveller César de Saussure wrote of London prostitutes to his family in 1727 that they were 'mostly women from the country who have been led astray and then forsaken, and have come to London to seek their fortune'.[117] This was also the reading of most of Hogarth's early commentators, who assumed that the *Harlot*'s distracted parson (identified by Paulson as 'Virtue') was Moll's father, the two having come to the metropolis (in John Trusler's words), 'in search of better fortune'.[118] Indeed, when he came to translate the *Harlot* for 'Monsieur **', Rouquet rendered Hogarth's title as 'les aventures d'une fille de joye', highlighting both 'fortune' and 'progress' within Moll's story.

This reading imagines Moll herself as the fortune-seeker, an alternative angle on the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' trope with which I began. Like the palmist's dupe, Moll is at once vulnerable to influence and 'crédule' when faced with the 'gueux errans' of her new urban environment, open to the 'fortunes' that may be offered. At the same time, 'fortune's' meanings are multivalent. For Trusler, who does not suspect Moll's motives, it apparently means 'condition': Moll and her 'father' are seeking a better 'progress' than the one they have had before. For De Brevel, a more cynical reader, who considers Moll fixated on 'Grandeur', her

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[117] César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II: The letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to his Family*, trans. and ed. Madame van Muyden ([1725-36], London: John Murray, 1902), p.203.

[118] Trusler, *Hogarth Moralized*, p.2. The assumption was also made by Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, I., p.4 and Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Commentaries*, trans. Herdan, p.4.

sought-for 'fortune' is more like 'wealth'—and, indeed, she has entered one of Europe's most prosperous cities.[119]

However, as already highlighted, many eighteenth-century commentators considered such 'fortune' as entwined with the word's older meaning, 'chance, hap or luck', and similarly problematic.[120] In 1721, George Berkeley (1685-1753) condemned the rise of urban 'Luxury', in which context 'some Men shall from nothing in an instant acquire vast Estates'.[121] Writing in the aftermath of the collapse of the South Sea Bubble, he warned that these 'Snares' of speculation will 'draw us into greater Calamities, if we do not reform that scandalous Libertinism which […] is our worst Symptom and the surest Prognostic of our Ruin'. In describing the city's opportunities, its promises of 'fortune', as 'Snares', he evokes a trap normally used for capturing animals or birds.[122]

The sentiment is similar to Defoe's complaint about prostitutes 'seducing the youthful Passengers' of London's streets. However, here it is the city itself, and the commerce it represents, that acts as the 'Street-Walker' (more properly the bawd), tempting victims off the proper path to ruinous 'Libertinism'. The link between the city's 'snares' and its sex trade is the more evocative because of the eighteenth-century tendency to gender such commercial (and implicitly urban) concepts as 'Fortune', 'Luxury' and 'Credit' as feminine; irrational,

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[119] *OED* [online], "fortune, n.", n.6.

[120] *OED* [online], "fortune, n.", n.1.

[121] [George Berkeley], 'An Essay Towards Preventing the Ruin of Great-Britain' [1721], in [Berkeley], *A Miscellany, containing Several Tracts on Various Subjects, by the Bishop of Cloyne* (London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1752), pp.31-52 (p.35).

[122] [Berkeley], 'Essay', p.33; *OED* [online], "snare, n.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/183047?rskey=I0n5ig&result=1&isAdvanced=false [accessed 20 July 2017].

hysterical and potentially dangerous forces that man must control.[123] However, *The Life of Colonel Don Francisco* takes the link further, showing how the sex trade itself draws on similar commercial contexts. After luring her to her house, the bawd tells the country girl that: 'if you mind your bits, you may make your Fortune', Charteris himself repeating the offer ('It was a pity so comely a young Woman should undertake the Drudgery of his House').[124] Having highlighted the city's specific dangers, the seducers offer it up as a place where social precedence can be upended, and fortunes made. A canny servant can escape the 'Drudgery' of her station, and rise through the ranks—an 'aventure' in the sense of an 'entreprise hasardeuse meslée quelquefois d'enchantement'.

However, the *Harlot*, like Berkeley, considers this a chimerical promise, which, if believed, will only betray the naïf to the underworld. The ultimate intermeshing of sexual transgression with an inappropriate subservience to commercial fortune is suggested by the vocabulary used in these examples. Berkeley's 'snare' is the same word Ireland uses to describe Mother Needham's seduction of the 'hapless' Moll. 'Ruin' is similarly applicable both to a nation's moral and financial destruction and to a woman's sexual 'fall'. Indeed, in *A Harlot's Progress,* the dead goose at the bottom right, an obvious metaphor for Moll, is also an evocation specifically of urban 'snares'.

Meanwhile, Mother Needham's attire also speaks of her consumption of London luxuries, visually connecting her with the dangerous urban environment. In contrast to her fresh-faced dupe, Mother Needham is draped in (and concealed by) dark layers of fabric that are additionally expanded, and distorted, by her large hoop petticoat. Her dark drapery, also

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[123] See Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.60-61; J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.113-15; Erin Mackie, *Market à la Mode*: *Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in 'The Tatler' and 'The Spectator'* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp.37-40.

[124] *Don Francisco*, pp.20, 21.

a feature of Watteau's *Diseuse d'aventure*, recalls the iconography of the traditionally female figure of Fraud, visually obfuscated in a reflection of her verbal deception.[125] Bickham would enthusiastically emphasise this in his own plagiary of Watteau as 'Falshood'. However, Mother Needham's attire in the *Harlot* is also specifically urban: her hoop, ribbons, patches, gloves and fan are all luxury items associated with the town, increasingly within reach of the contemporaneous urban speculator during this period.[126]

For Moll, this makes Mother Needham seem what Mother Brown ('dressed in a velvet manteel') will later seem to Fanny Hill: a 'grave and matron-like […] lady' who will prevent this 'artless inexperienced country maid [from…] becoming a wanderer about the streets'.[127] However, while her apparent social capital seems to offer a valid change in 'condition', the bawd may also give her dupe reason to hope for more glittering fortunes. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-99), one of Hogarth's most astute eighteenth-century readers, read the direction of Moll's gaze in Plate 1 as proof she was fascinated by 'deer vornehmen Uhr der Staatsdame, mit welche das gute Kind hier en rapport gestzt ist'.[128] His language ironically appropriates Moll's perspective, describing Mother Needham as a 'Staatsdame' (literally a 'court lady'), but also focusing on the seductive appeal of the urban

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[125] See, for example, the allegorical figures in Botticelli's *The Calumny of Apelles* (1494-95), discussed in Judith Dundas, 'Emblems on the Art of Painting: "Pictura" and Purpose', in *Emblems and Art History*, ed. Alison Adams (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1996), pp.69-96.

[126] For the hoop, see Kimberly Chrisman, 'Unhoop the Fair Sex: The Campaign Against the Hoop Petticoat in Eighteenth-century England', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 30:1 (Fall, 1996), 5-23 and Mackie, *Market à la Mode*, pp.104-43.

[127] Cleland, *Fanny Hill*, pp.44, 45.

[128] Lichtenberg, *G. C. Lichtenbergs ausführhrliche…*, p.45. The Herdens translate this as 'the elegant watch of the great lady with whom the good child is here put *en rapport*', *Lichtenberg's Commentaries*, p.5. For a discussion of Lichtenberg's language and obscurity in English-speaking Hogarth scholarship, see Wagner, 'How to Mis(Read) Hogarth', 211-227. I am grateful to Felix Tambling and Stuart Moss for their assistance with Lichtenberg's wordplay.

commodity, the 'Uhr', at her waist, which simultaneously represents the 'Staatsdame's' elevated status and Moll's own chances of acquiring something similar.

What Moll does not yet know is that, as Richard Sennett has famously argued, people in eighteenth-century cities 'had little means of telling whether the dress of a stranger on the street was an accurate reflection of his or her standing in the society'.[129] Mother Needham is therefore an unstable sign for this naïf, who reads silks and luxury items as indicators of status and respectability rather than, as Henry Fielding would later put it, a sign her companion 'aspir[es] still to a Degree beyond that which belongs to [her]'.[130] Conversely, Lichtenberg's ironic appropriation of Moll's perspective highlights the ease with which Hogarth's viewers would have identified Fielding's view as the correct one. They would have gone to view the *Harlot* at Hogarth's studio in Leicester Fields; an area that, together with Covent Garden, accounted for over 70% of the city's bawdy houses between 1720-29.[131] Such urban literacy would have allowed them to identify Mother Needham as a deceptive figure holding out chimerical fortunes to figures like Moll, in turn identifiable as (in Rouquet's words) 'sa proye'.[132]

Mother Needham's appearance at the coaching inn partakes of the full range of meanings implied by the 'bawd-at-the-wagon'. For the astute viewer, she calls attention to the city's role in effecting seduction into prostitution, offering its opportunities up to the countrified Moll. Hogarth's plate therefore highlights two types of looking: knowing and unknowing; urban and rural. The viewer occupies the position of the cynical city-dweller, who can identify a bawd, and trace a harlot's probable progress after her appearance at the

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[129] Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1978), p.66.

[130] Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers, &c…* (Dublin: Printed for G. Faulkner, 1751), p.3.

[131] Trumbach, *Sex and Gender Revolution*, p.121, Table 4.7.

[132] [Rouquet], *Lettres*, p.4.

coaching inn, based on a plethora of whore narratives. Moll, by contrast, is the naïf whose seduction is aided by her own visual illiteracy.

These two types of looking are already implicit in the contrast between the *tsigane* and the trusting dupe, so that here Hogarth (unlike Watteau) also seems to draw on the earlier fortune teller tradition that likewise influenced Bickham. However the compositional precedent of Watteau's painting, exploited in the *Harlot*, also highlights 'fortune's' literal meaning. Mother Needham, looking at Moll as if at a mirror, represents what her dupe will become. Lichtenberg apparently had a similar idea. Though Innes and Gustav Herden translate his 'Uhr' as 'watch', the German word, deriving from 'ora' or 'hour', has the general meaning 'time'. In Mother Needham (and her watch), Moll therefore sees her fortune, her future progress. She reads this as a 'rosy future': fine clothes, respectability, perhaps a lover. The viewer, conversely, sees in this 'fortune teller' an illustration of the sad condition to which Moll will come next.

By Plate 3, Moll does indeed have her own watch, presumably stolen, and presents it coquettishly to the viewer. In admiring it, we recognise its status both as luxury good and, more essentially, timepiece; a reflection of the 'Uhr' of Plate 1 and a measure of her progress since. However, as Vertue noted, it was here that the *Harlot* had first started. Hogarth, he reported, 'began a small picture of a common harlot suposd to dwell in drewry lane. just riseing about noon out of bed. and at breakfast. a bunter waiting on her - this whore's desabillé careless and a pretty Countenance & air. - this thought pleasd many. some advisd him to make another'.[133] James Grantham Turner highlights how Vertue's language is couched en-

[133] Vertue, vol. III, p.58.

tirely in terms of 'erotic visual pleasure'.[134] For Turner, Hogarth's 'empathy' with 'the client's acquisitive desire' aligns him symbolically with the harlot herself.[135]

At the same time, Vertue's vision of multiplication also links the artist with the bawd. Like Mother Needham, Hogarth provides his audience with an apparently endless stream of harlots, found not at the wagons, but in the easily reproducible format of print. Re-conceived as Plate 3 of the *Harlot*, Hogarth's image of a 'harlot suposd to dwell in drewry lane' therefore recalls the triad of harlot-bawd-client already established in Plate 1, while simultaneously calling attention to the positions of both artist and viewer within it. Enticed into the series through Moll's seductive appearance in Drury Lane—which imagines her as one of the city's temptations—the viewer is taken back to her inaugural seduction, effected by a 'bawd-at-the-wagon'. Her fall is there shown to have resulted from naïvety, and manipulation, within a pointedly urban context.

Like its 'bawd-at-the-wagon', Plate 1's fortune teller underscores the city's influence on Moll's seduction. However, it also highlights the predictability of her story. Once seduced, Moll seduces in turn, but (as the viewer knows) this is not how the traditional harlot's progress ends. The *Harlot* shows Moll's most seductive appearance to come at the moment when time runs out. As we can see from her 'Uhr', Plate 3 is set at fifteen minutes to midday, with Justice Gonson marching into the room. By the stroke of noon, Moll will have been hauled off to Bridewell. This inaugurates Moll's ultimate dissolution within the city; her gradual subsumption into the objects around her. In Plate 4, her fine clothes are at once a source of fetishistic desire, and an object of mockery. Plate 5 conceals her body almost entirely in a shapeless shroud-like white cloth. By Plate 6, she has disappeared almost entirely. In this final plate, as far as the viewer can tell, the surviving harlot who gazes into the coffin

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[134] Turner, '"A Wanton Kind of Chace"', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, p.38.

[135] Turner, '"A Wanton Kind of Chace"', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, p.48.

looks at nothing more than some folds of fabric—a memory of the seductive trappings that first lured the country girl in.

Departing for the 'isles'

This is one possible outcome for the eighteenth-century prostitute. Watteau offers another. I have discussed his *Diseuse d'aventure* as a meeting of worlds, with the fortune teller a catalyst figure. Watteau addressed this idea again in a now lost painting, engraved as *Le Départ pour les isles* by Pierre Dupin (fig. 66), published by Jean de Jullienne as one of eight prints forming the so-called *Complément de l'œuvre gravé* (1735-38).[136] The original painting has been identified by Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart in the April 1759 Gautier sale.[137] Despite this, and the inclusion of the engraved version in the *Complément*, the composition has troubled scholars, who consider it (in Hélène Adhémar's words) 'loin de l'esprit de Watteau'.[138] However, Dupin was, as Martin Eidelberg puts it, 'a graphic artist of limited talent', who 'could not capture the quality of Watteau's art'.[139] This is clear from comparison of Watteau's *La Danse champêtre* with Dupin's engraving after it (figs. 67-68), so I do not consider the simple

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[136] On the *Complément*, see Isabelle Tillerot, 'Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the Recueil Jullienne', *Getty Research Journal*, 3 (2011), 33-52 (p.39) and Dacier and Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, II., 'Historique', p.46.

[137] 'M. Gautier, Secrétaire du Roi' (Paris: Couvent des Grands Augustins, 6 April 1759), lot 81; Dacier and Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, III., cat. 275, p.116.

[138] Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau: sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris: Éditions Pierre Tisné, 1950), cat. 5, p.202. See also Josz, *Watteau: Mœurs du XVIII^e siècle*, p.338; Ettore Camesasca and John Sunderland, *The Compete Paintings of Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), cat. 7, p.90.

[139] Martin Eidelberg, 'L'Amour mal-accompagné', *A Watteau Abecedario* (November 2015), http://watteau-abecedario.org/amourmalacc.htm [accessed 3 August 2017],

appearance of the plate sufficient to overturn the substantial documentary evidence.[140] My discussion here situates Watteau's work in its Parisian context, suggesting another way of thinking about the fortune offered to Moll Hackabout; here in the guise of the 'fille de joie'.

The picture shows a group of women being herded from left to right by a group of soldiers, and a dark-clothed figure greeting them with a satirical bow. The youth and fine clothes of the first girl in the line, and her juxtaposition with an older woman companion, recalls the pairing of *élégante* and palmist in *La Diseuse d'aventure* and the more explicitly transgressive relationship between the bawd and the child 'prostitute' in Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode*. The annotation added to the print after Watteau's painting explicitly identifies the women in the painting as prostitutes, referring to their 'galand métier', though Mary Sheriff points out that only the first in the queue seems clearly intended as such.[141]

Dupin's title apparently alludes to the early eighteenth-century embarkations from Paris to Louisiana, via Rochefort, which sought to redress a population deficit in the French colonies. The tactics used to effect these embarkations quickly moved from seduction to compulsion. From 1712, under Antoine Crozat (c.1655-1738), brother of Watteau's patron Pierre Crozat (1641-1740), the project enticed young people with financial aid.[142] In August 1717, John Law acquired a controlling interest in the now-renamed 'Compagnie de l'Occident' and, by September 1717, Jean Buvat (1660-1729) was reporting that uncontracted

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[140] Shortly before submission of this thesis, Mary Sheriff published an article on Watteau that includes a discussion of this painting—unfortunately, too late for me to incorporate it into my argument here. However, her findings chime with my own: see Mary D. Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies: Watteau and the Fate of Women', in *The Eighteenth Centuries: Global Networks of Enlightenment*, ed. David T. Gies and Cynthia Wall (Charlottesville; London: University of Virginia Press, 2018), pp.149-77 (pp.170-74).

[141] Sheriff, 'Emotional Geographies', in *Eighteenth Centuries*, p.170.

[142] Marcel Giraud, *A History of French Louisiana*, trans. Joseph C. Lambert and Brian Pearce, 5 vols (Baton Rouge, LA: Lousiana State University Press, 1974-93), I., pp.155, 250-65.

'laquais et autres domestiques' were being forcibly enlisted.[143] Compulsory embarkations followed for, among others, 'filles publiques' from the Salpêtrière, as immortalised in Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731).[144] The duc de Saint-Simon described violent press-gangs roaming Paris and the environs to 'enlev[er] de gens sans aveu et des mendiants valides […] et de quantité des créatures publiques'.[145] These 'bandoulières de Mississipi' became so notorious that, by May 1720, their deportations had been outlawed, following violent confrontations.[146] Though these embarkations may not have been voluntary, they did serve a broader persuasive purpose. A demonstration of popular 'interest' in emigrating to the French colonies, they were intended to increase the value of Mississippi stock.[147] This coincided with a concerted effort to sell Louisiana to the public as a land of plenty where (as the *Nouveau Mercure* put it) 'outre la beauté de son climat […] tout y croît en abondance', the earth full of 'des Mines d'or & d'argent'.[148] These embarkations exerted another kind of seductive appeal for the public, inviting them to embark on their own American adventure; physically, or remotely, through financial investment.

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[143] Jean Buvat, *Journal de la Régence*, ed. Émile Campardon, 2 vols (Paris: Henri Plon, 1865), II., p.303.

[144] Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane française*, III., p.253; on Abbé Prévost's inspiration, see p.265 and Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.87-8. On these embarkations, see also Carswell, *South Sea Bubble*, p.84 and Giraud, *History of French Louisiana*, I., pp.149-56, 272-73; Giraud, *History of French Louisiana*, II., pp.33-44 pp.101-18, and Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane française*, 5 vols (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953-66), III, pp.252-76. For John Law and the Mississippi company, Hyde, *John Law*, pp.118-20.

[145] Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint Simon, *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon…*, ed. M. Chéruel, 20 vols (Paris: Librairie de l'Hachette, 1858), XVII, p.461.

[146] Buvat, *Journal de la Régence*, I., p.137; Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III., p.269-71.

[147] Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.86-87; Hyde, *John Law*, pp.118-19 also gives an account of events, but it is based on Buvat.

[148] 'Nouveau relation de la Louisiane', *Le Nouveau Mercure*, September, 1717, pp.128-43 (pp.131, 139, 130). On the marketing campaign, see Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III., pp.129-53.

Watteau's painting is therefore dateable to a specific moment. Dacier and Vuaflart refer to the deportations of '1720', indicating a parallel date, but most scholars have ignored this and placed it, on stylistic grounds, c.1702-5.[149] However, previous deportations 'pour les isles' (1662, 1667, 1680, 1682 and 1685) mostly pre-dated Watteau's birth, whereas the Mississippi Company, and the 'embarkations' for Louisiana, dominated the Parisian news in the period from Law's acquisition in 1717 until its collapse in autumn 1720.[150] Gersaint even reported that Watteau had money in Law's scheme.[151] Since Watteau was in England at least between September 1719 and August 1720, a date of between 1717 and late 1719 seems likely.[152]

The *Départ* suggests that Watteau was interested in how these embarkations modelled transitions from one state to another. While the *Harlot*'s initial plate shows Moll moving from innocence to experience, through an implied 'before' and 'after', the *Départ* shows prostitutes' physical transitions at the end of their careers, from the city to a new world. Indeed, while little of Watteau's figural style appears in Dupin's engraving, the composition does recall earlier military works by Watteau showing (forced) travel, such as *Les Fatigues de la guerre* (1715, Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg) and *Recruits going to join the Regiment* (fig. 22).[153] As discussed in Chapter One, many of these military scenes are dominated by unfurling lines of figures moving from one place to another.

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[149] Dacier and Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, III., cat. 275, p.116. For the earlier dating, see Adhémar, *Watteau*, cat. 5, p.202; J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Peintures réapparues, inconnues ou négligées par les historiens* (Paris: F. de Noble, 1959), p.66. Edmond Pilon drew the link but did not extrapolate the date; see *Watteau et son école*, 2 vols (Paris; Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art & d'Histoire, 1912), I., pp.86-87 and fn1.

[150] Benabou, *Prostitution*, p.86.

[151] Edmé-François Gersaint, 'Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau', in *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg (Paris: Hermann, 1984), p.38.

[152] On Watteau's London visit, see Marianne Roland Michel, 'Watteau and England', in *The Rococo in England: A Symposium*, ed. Charles Hind (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986), pp.46-59.

[153] There is a painted version of this motif in the Rothschild Collection, Paris. See Adhémar, *Watteau*, cat. 34, p.205.

However, while the *Départ* could also be called a painting of military-style enlistment, the 'filles de joie' implicate sex. It may not be coincidental, then, that the period 1717-19 is also when Watteau is thought to have returned to his definitive image of embarkation, with the Berlin *Cythère (*fig. 19).[154] Like *Cythère*'s lovers, these Parisian colonists are going abroad to marry, though their seduction is urban, rather than idyllic and Arcadian, in origin. Indeed, the ironic juxtaposition of these two registers prefigures Buvat's report, in January 1720, that 'les prisonniers du prieuré de Saint-Martin des Champs' had attempted a rebellion 'pour s'exempter du *pèlerinage* du Mississipi, auquel ils avaient été la plupart condamnés'.[155] Buvat's phrasing calls attention to the 'pèlerinage' as both act of devotion and, potentially, of penance, to which one might equally be counselled or 'condamné'. It is also another example of the conflation of prostitution with legitimate, and implicitly mythologised, courtship. The *Départ*'s 'pèlerinage' is mediated not by the appeals of a Cytherean lover, but instead by the man leading the first girl in line off to whatever awaits her next.[156]

As he leans into her, this man joins a network of distinctively elongated hands that recall the hand-to-hand gesture of *La Diseuse d'aventure*.[157] This time, the exchange is explicitly financial. The girl occupies the compositional position of the *Diseuse*'s *élégante*, but, in her fashionable *robe volante*, she is not an aristocrat, but rather a 'fille publique', a Moll Hackabout for purchase. Her trading has brought her to Rochefort docks, into another trading ecosystem. In the context of the contemporaneous embarkations, such an ecosystem might even include Watteau's own picture. Law's Compagnie offered the Parisian public a vision of an 'aventure' in an

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[154] See *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 62, pp.406-11 (p.406).

[155] Buvat, *Journal de la Régence*, II., p.1 (emphasis added).

[156] For the voyage to Mississippi as a mental transition, see François Moureau, *Le Théâtre des voyages: une scénographie de l'Âge classique* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), p.64.

[157] For a characteristic discussion of 'Watteauesque' hands, see Kenneth Clark, *Looking at Pictures* (London: John Murray, 1960), p.82.

enchanted setting across the Atlantic, in the hope of increasing 'aventure' in the capital, and images of departure for 'les isles' could similarly be read as a type of advertising.

However, Watteau's composition refuses this possibility, highlighting the contradictions of this vision rather than smoothing them over. Indeed, the overlaps between Law's offer and a vision of Cythera must have appealed to this artist whose work, as Calvin Seervald recognised, is characterised by an ironic wit borne of a 'juxtaposition of strange elements'.[158] In the *Départ*, that juxtaposition is urban-rural. While the *Harlot* hinges on the meeting between the naïf and the urban bawd—and the seduction that follows—the *Départ* plays on the irony of the urban world seeking a return to an Arcadian idyll. This time, the fortune teller mans the exit. Another catalyst figure between the old world and the new, his motivations are financial, his methods coercive. Rather than a persuasive 'mother', he is a male administrator, like the paternal alderman scanning the contract of *Marriage à la Mode* while his daughter fidgets behind him.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the *Harlot*'s first plate draws on the contemporary trope of the 'bawd-at-the-wagon', and (following Carter and Hallett) that the composition had a rich network of influences and reference points from the 1730s. These include both contemporaneous whore narratives and the 'biographies' produced of Colonel Charteris around his trial and pardon. Reading the plate through the motif of the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' underscores and complicates the role of Mother Needham. While the 'rape-master general' lurks in the

[158] Calvin Seerveld, 'Telltale Statues in Watteau's Painting', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 14:2 (Winter, 1980-1), 151-80 (p.157).

shadows, it is the bawd whose wheedling tongue persuades the naïve young girl to change her course through the city. The *Harlot* thereby calls attention to the triadic structure of urban seduction (harlot-bawd-client), already exemplified in the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' story, and highlights questions of consent and power. This includes both the bawd's power over the naïf who trusts her, as an older woman, and the sexual violence invoked by Charteris, whose fame was, as contemporaries would have recognised, not for seduction, but rape.

In selecting the 'bawd-at-the-wagon' for his image, Hogarth also seems to have drawn on earlier depictions of the fortune teller painted by Watteau at the beginning of the century. I have highlighted this tradition's evolution over the course of the seventeenth century, from a low-life genre subject to an opportunity to show the meeting of worlds between an elegant, well-heeled subject and a mysterious, rootless palmist. The 'diseuse d'aventure' became a figure focused on titillation and romantic encounters, the palmist implicitly an intermediary in unseen future relationships. Hogarth's memory of Watteau's composition may have been indirect; he may also have been remembering the longer tradition from which the French painter drew. However, the link between Mother Needham and the fortune teller highlights the importance of the city in effecting Moll's seduction. Though historically a semi-rural (because itinerant) figure, the fortune teller takes on a new significance in London, and Paris, where, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, literal fortunes might be won and lost at speed—depending on the risks one was prepared to take. Read alongside the *Harlot*, Watteau's *Départ* offers a vision of these results. Here, the fortune-seeker is pressed, rather than persuaded, into a final departure from the city to an unknown new world.

Like the palmist, Mother Needham offers unseen future lovers and worldly success. However, in contrast to her precedents, it is she, not her dupe, who resembles a fashion plate. Her fabulous promises are predicated on her position in the city underworld, where fortunes are a result of upending rules of social precedence. Like the 'bawd-at-the-wagon', this too

reflected pervasive anxiety, about the degenerative effects of luxury, its consequences for the social hierarchy—and for those, like Moll, not yet practised in reading streets where every woman resembles a 'Staatsdame'.

When he returned to prostitution in *Marriage à la Mode*, Hogarth emphasised this link with the city. His depiction of 'The Inspection's' teenage 'prostitute' reflects on the lack of consent in the titular marriage, and on the mercenary motivations behind it. However, it also reflects the Viscount's participation in London's underworld. Immanent within both series is the ever-present tension between seduction and coercion. While, in the first plate of the *Harlot*, this tension results from the presence of Colonel Charteris, it becomes uncomfortable in the context of the erotic confrontation of the third. Here, the viewer is drawn into the first plate's three-part relationship, invited to see their own complicity in the city's seductions.

Chapter Four

'Un vrai coupe-gorge':

Shops and Shopkeepers

In a 1688 engraving showing a *Marchande-lingère en sa boutique* (fig. 69), consumer and urban shopkeeper square up across a counter. This is ostensibly a scene of commerce. The customer's money lies on the table, with the item he is apparently buying. However, the shopkeeper's gesture, and splendid attire, suggests something else. Her hand on her customer's collar mirrors his hand gesturing towards the merchandise on the table, creating a compositional similarity between the two figures, and implying a relationship of cause and effect between their actions. Commerce is seductive: he buys because she persuades, and her persuasions are sexualised. The money on the table is therefore ambiguous. *What* is he buying; who has the upper hand? Her proprietary grasp suggests one answer: a coincidental, but telling antecedent to the gesture used by Mother Needham, and the fortune teller.

This reading of urban commerce was still familiar to Pierre de Marivaux at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[159] Marivaux found shopping a potentially dangerous experience, with many boutiques 'un vrai coupe-gorge pour les bonnes gens qui n'ont pas la force de dire non'.[160] However, despite this implied coercion, the merchant is compared not with the robber, but instead with those 'Chirugiens, qui, avant que de vous percer la veine, passent longtemps la main sur votre bras pour l'endormir'. Shopkeepers, he wrote: 'endor-

[159] For a discussion of sexual availability in the Parisian shop later in the century, which reproduces this engraving, without discussing it, see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-century Paris* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1996), pp.135-36.

[160] Pierre de Marivaux, *Le Spectateur François par Mr de Marivaux, ou Recueil de tout ce qui a paru imprimé sous ce titre*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Pierre Prault, 1728), II., p.489.

ment aussi votre interêt à force d'empressmens & de discours: & quand le bras est en état […] elles disposent de votre volonté, elles coupent, elles tranchent, elles vous arrachent votre argent, & vous ne vous sentez blessé que quant la saignée est faite'.[161]

Like the anonymous engraver, Marivaux presents shopper and shopkeeper as adversaries. Conflating financial depletion with the physical loss of blood, he similarly imagines the shopkeeper's 'empressemens' to triumph over the purse via the body.[162] The consumer is wheedled into parting with money in an exchange that is both involuntary, and physically depleting. Combined with the female gendering of this insistent shopkeeper, who 'dispos[e] de votre volonté' and 'vous arrach[e] votre argent', this highlights the implicit sexuality of the interaction. These seductive shopkeepers inevitably recall the urban prostitutes of Chapter Three, whose '*raccroc*', an oral invitation to passers-by, was, writes Erica-Marie Benabou, 'une véritable chasse où l'homme est proie'.[163]

While Chapter Three addressed the urban underworld, this chapter considers the officially sanctioned temptations awaiting the urban walker. However, it shows that, like the distinctions between prostitution and marriage discussed by Defoe, the dividing lines between the 'illegitimate' and 'legitimate' worlds of trade were unclear. Urban commerce was frequently negotiated, as in these examples, through gender and sexuality. Indeed, in contrast to the depictions of female fortune tellers and their female dupes discussed in Chapter Three, many representations of buying and selling presented it as a male-female interaction, facilitating an imaginative fluidity between commercial and (hetero)sexual seduction.

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[161] Marivaux, *Spectateur François*, II., p.489.

[162] For the intersection of metaphors of medicine and commerce, see Roy Porter, 'Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?' in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), pp.58-81 (p.70).

[163] Benabou, *Prostitution*, p.320.

However, though it was easy to conflate pushy shopkeeper and urban prostitute, Laura Mandell has highlighted that commentators often gendered both shoppers and shopping itself as feminine, reflecting a fear that, as Nicholas Barbon had observed in 1690, trade itself threatened to 'softe[n] the People by Ease and Luxury'.[164] These fears were partly dissipating in the eighteenth century's early years; indeed, Barbon considered commercial activity 'as necessary to Preserve Governments, as it is useful to make them Rich'.[165] However, many still sought to resolve a residual tension between trade as necessity and as moral danger by gendering it, reimagining it as 'the female desire for fashion, for sexual attractiveness, hence as woman's inordinate sexual appetite'.[166]

Complex feelings about commercial seduction could therefore be resolved into the figures of the seductive prostitute-shopkeeper and the female (or feminised) consumer. Both scapegoat and object of desire, the trading or consuming woman encapsulated a duality recognisable from the figure of the prostitute who, as Vivien Jones has argued, 'represents the most conspicuous case of feminising, debilitating consumption', but is simultaneously 'the motivating force of commercial expansion and thus of national ascendancy'.[167] In this context, how commercial transactions were gendered—and the specific gender split imagined by writers, artists and commentators—was loaded. Moreover, it could be unclear who was seducing who. The shopkeeper could equally be Marivaux's predatory (female) 'surgeon'-shopkeeper, or victim to the dallying of an irrational customer.

This chapter uses this complex, seductive, relationship between shopper and shopkeeper to consider Watteau's *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (fig. 71), the shop sign painted in the final

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[164] [Nicholas Barbon], *A Discourse of Trade* (London: Printed by Thomas Milbourn, 1690), 'Preface', n.p.

[165] [Barbon], *Discourse of Trade*, 'Preface', n.p.

[166] Mandell, 'Bawds and Merchants', p.107.

[167] Vivien Jones, 'Luxury, Satire and Prostitute Narratives', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Berg and Eger, pp.178-89 (pp.178-79).

year of his life.[168] By 1721, Paris had seen a significant increase in the number of shops seeking to attract passing trade. This reflected the explosion of the luxury and so-called 'populuxe' market, increasingly concentrated in the French capital and particularly around the rue St. Honoré, where traders 'both competed with and complemented each other' for custom.[169] The most elaborate of these boutiques would be the Petit Dunkerque, established on the quai Conti in 1767.[170] However, already by mid-century shopkeepers were employing 'a whole economy of persuasion', including 'window-dressing, displays, exhibitions, promotional

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[168] As with *A Harlot's Progress,* the literature on *L'Enseigne* is extensive. It first appears in Edmé-François Gersaint, *Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau* [1744], in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.37; on Gersaint's account, see Julie Plax, 'Gersaint's Biography of Antoine Watteau: Reading Between and Beyond the Lines', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 25:4 (Summer, 1992), 545-60; Andrew McClellan, 'Watteau's Dealer: Gersaint and the Marketing of Art in Eighteenth-century Paris', *The Art Bulletin*, 78:3 (September, 1996), 439-53 and Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-Francóis Gersaint, Marchand d'art sur le Pont Notre-Dame (1694-1750)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2002), pp.72-106. The definitive account of the painting's material history is Paul Alfassa, '"L'Enseigne de Gersaint"', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1910), 126-72. For a more recent discussion, see Christoph Martin Vogtherr and Eva Wenders de Calisse, 'Watteau's "Shop-sign": the Long Creation of a Masterpiece', *The Burlington Magazine*, 149:1250 (May, 2007), 296-304. The painting is also addressed by Jay Caplan, *In the King's Wake: Post-Absolutist Culture in France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp.76-97; Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.177-95; Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984), pp.271-77 and Shirley Helen Haskin, '"L'Enseigne de Gersaint"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Arizona, 1976), and was extensively discussed at its exhibition in Washington in 1984; see *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 73, pp.446-58.

[169] Sargentson, *Merchants*, p.20. For the 'consumer revolution' in France, see Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Cissie Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-century Paris', in *Consumption*, ed. Brewer and Porter, pp.228-48; Laurence Fontaine,'The Circulation of Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-century Paris: Social Redistribution and an Alternative Currency', trans. Vicky Wittaker, in *Luxury*, ed. Berg and Eger, pp.89-102; Natacha Coquery, 'The Language of Success: Marketing and Distributing Semi-Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-century Paris', *Journal of Design History*, 17:1 (2004), 71-89. Donna J. Bohanan looks at the evidence for consumption outside court culture in *Fashion Beyond Versailles: Consumption and Design in Seventeenth-century France* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2012).

[170] The most famous account of the Petit Dunkerque is Louis-Sébastien Mercier, 'Le Petit-Dunkerque', in *Tableau de Paris*, 10 vols (Amsterdam, 1782-1788; repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1979), VII., pp.81-86. See also Sargentson, *Merchants*, pp.119-27; Fairchilds, 'Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods', in *Consumption*, ed. Brewer and Porter, pp.238-40 and Coquery, 'Language of Success', p.77.

sales, sales announcements'.[171] Watteau's friend, and the original recipient of *L'Enseigne*, Edmé-François Gersaint (1694-1750), was part of this. His art dealership, on the Pont Notre Dame, east of the rue Saint Honoré, was among a growing number of commercial galleries, reflecting an increase in private wealth following John Law's 1716-20 reforms, which put art collections within reach of ever-larger numbers of people.[172] *L'Enseigne* therefore stands at a key moment in the development of Paris's seductive boutiques, and is, indeed, itself part of the material culture that accompanied it.

L'Enseigne has often been read through Watteau's previous *fêtes galantes*, while its apparent worldliness in contrast to his earlier works has been used to argue for it as a dying man's *vanitas*.[173] Andrew McClellan has argued that: 'Comparison with the *fête galante* is very much to the point [in discussing *L'Enseigne*], for Watteau's service to his friend Gersaint was to posit the compatibility of secluded woodland and dealer's shop as sites of aristocratic ritual and leisure'.[174] However, *L'Enseigne* was also apparently the culmination of a career-long interest in the shop sign.[175] This chapter discusses it alongside two earlier, unrealised, 'enseignes' in Watteau's work, sketches showing *Une boutique de barbier* (fig. 73) and the *Intérieur d'une boutique*, a draper's shop (fig. 74), to place it in the context of the urban *enseigne* generally, and the generic hierarchies thereby implied.[176] Unlike *L'Enseigne*, these earlier sketches

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[171] Coquery, 'Language of Success', p.78.

[172] Haskin, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, p.6.

[173] See Gérard Le Coat, 'Modern Enchantment and Traditional Didacticism in Watteau's "Enseigne de Gersaint" and Couperin's "Folies Françaises"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VIe période, XCI (November, 1978), 169-72 and, for a more extended discussion, Neuman, 'Watteau's "L'Enseigne de Gersaint"'.

[174] McClellan, 'Watteau's Dealer', p.439.

[175] See Richard Wrigley, 'Between the Street and the Salon: Parisian Shop Signs and the Spaces of Professionalism in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries', *Oxford Art Journal*, 21: 1 (1998), 45-67 (p.47).

[176] Rosenberg and Prat, *Watteau*, I. cats. 24, pp.44-45 and 87, pp.138-39; Posner, *Watteau*, pp.273, 276.

appear to be private ideas for projects unrealised; paradoxically private evidence of Watteau's longstanding interest in this form of public display.

My discussion also addresses the contemporaneous British signboard, since many of the *enseigne*'s features straddled the Channel. I argue that Watteau's *enseignes* demonstrate his interest in Paris's urban fabric, and its burgeoning world of advertorial seduction; the attempt to entice the walker off the street, into the shop. Although its depiction of 'aristocratic ritual and leisure' seems distinct from Marivaux's 'coupe-gorge', *L'Enseigne* partakes of many of its ideas.

I conclude by returning to London, where shops had also been evolving in increasingly elaborate directions since the late seventeenth century.[177] Like his interest in London, Hogarth's engagement with the shop sign is well established, Ronald Paulson considering signs a 'paradigmatic expression of the English' for the artist, and 'a painterly equivalent of his pug and his own plebeian manners'.[178] My discussion focuses on one of Hogarth's earliest depictions of a shop, created in a period when, like many young artists, he undertook commercial commissions. The trade-card he designed for his shopkeeper sisters (fig. 81) is in a much smaller format than *L'Enseigne*, which was engraved by Pierre-Alexandre Aveline in 1732 (fig. 72). A practical material object, rather than an engraving of the sort discussed in the

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[177] For shops and shop design in England during this period, see Dorothy Davis, *A History of Shopping* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp.181-96; T. S. Willan, *An Eighteenth-century Shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), esp. pp.221-48; Clare Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8:3 (1995), 157-76; Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 155-1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) and Patrick Wallis, 'Consumption, Retailing and Medicine in Early-Modern London', *The Economic History Review*, 61:1 (February, 2008), 26-53. For general eighteenth-century consumption trends, see also Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) and Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House: Elite Spending and Identities in Georgian England* (London; Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2016), esp. pp.23-52.

[178] Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art*, p.35.

previous chapter, this trade-card confronts similar problems of gender and sociability to those addressed by Watteau—while, at the same time, calling attention to the shop's potential dangers: treading a line between seduction and respectability.

The urban signboard

Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat connect Watteau's *Barbier* (a 'project d'enseigne') with François Lemoyne's (1688-1737) 'enseigne pour un perruquier' of around 1717.[179] In turning his attention to the *enseigne*, or 'signboard', Watteau, like Lemoyne, and, after him, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, was at least partially rejecting a hard-fought point of division between the guild artist and the academic one, painting for money and painting for art, at a time when Academicians were forbidden to keep a shop 'or even allow works to be visible in the windows of their studios'.[180] Moreover, he did so not, as Chardin would later do, at the uncertain beginnings of his career, but rather at its culmination, immediately after his return from London, where (as Gersaint noted) 'ses ouvrages […] étaient courus et bien payés'.[181] Indeed, that Watteau's interest in this division was intellectual as much as financial is suggested by the number of *enseignes* in his oeuvre. This chapter focuses on those depicting shops, and on *L'Enseigne* as the most developed example, but Watteau painted other suspected

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[179] Rosenberg and Prat, *Watteau*, I., cat. 24, p.44; Antoine-Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres…*, 4 vols (Paris: Chez De Bure l'Aîné, 1762), IV., p.418.

[180] Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.23-27 (p.25). For Chardin's signboard, see Jean-Baptiste Haillet de Couronne, 'Éloge de M. Chardin', in L. Dussieux, E. Soulié and others, *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale…*, 2 vols (Paris: J-B. Dumoulin, 1854), II., p.431.

[181] Gersaint, *Abrégé*, in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.36.

enseignes, including *Vertumne et Pomone*, discussed in Chapter Three, and *Pierrot*, the subject of Chapter Six.[182]

Enseignes abounded in European capitals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Louis XIV had actually ordered that signs should be displayed outside all Paris shops as a visual marker of different trades.[183] The connection thereby established between a proprietor and his sign was such that, if, for example, a publican's licence was revoked, his sign would be taken away too.[184] Nonetheless, Parisian *enseignes* frequently made more use of 'jeux de mots', and ironic humour than explanation of the products provided by those trading, and probably living, beneath them, a trend also complained of in London.[185] This iconography might reflect local slang, names, guild allegiance or even training: apprentices often 'quartered' their signs with those of their masters, a reminder of the similarity between

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[182] Other possible and probable 'signboards' within Watteau's oeuvre include: *The Alliance of Music and Comedy* (date and whereabouts unknown) and *The Bird Nester* (c.1710, National Galleries of Scotland). See *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 73, p.450. For specific paintings, see: for the *Alliance*, Dacier and Vauflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, III., cat. 39, p.24; Martin Eidelberg, 'L'Alliance de la musique et de la comédie', *A Watteau Abecedario* (May 2017), http://watteau-abecedario.org/alliancedelamusique000.htm [accessed 7 February 2018]; for the *Bird Nester*, Plax, *Watteau and Cultural Politics*, p.101; *Vertumne*, Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.58-62. I discuss *Pierrot* as a signboard in Chapter Six.

[183] Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten [Jan van Schevichaven], *The History of Signboards from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1866), p.16.

[184] [Van Schevichaven], *History of Signboards*, p.16.

[185] Édouard Fournier, *Histoire des enseignes de Paris revue et publié par Le Bibliophile Jacob…* (Paris: Libraire de la Société des Gens de Lettres, 1884), p.34; Jean-Pierre Willesme, *Enseignes du musée Carnavalet—Histoire de Paris* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1996), p.15. For this trend in London, see [Addison], *The Spectator*, No. 28 (Monday 2 April, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, I., pp.115-19 (p.116).

the tradesman's *enseigne* and the aristocrat's coat of arms.[186] David Garrioch therefore argues that, across Europe, signboards provided 'more than simply information', acting as statements of identity and power within communities, 'landmarks of local history' for the initiated, and mechanisms of order and explanation for the visitor.[187] Advertorial meaning was therefore easily subsumed beneath 'the history or the idiosyncrasies of the proprietor'.[188]

At the same time, *enseignes* also actively competed with each other for the passerby's attention—and, ultimately, business. Édouard Fournier reports that Parisian *enseignes* 's'étaient multipliées en s'agrandissant tous les jours et en se disputant l'une l'autre une place au soleil'.[189] English signboards were similarly both large and elaborate.[190] Such competition could be mapped onto trade itself; for Barbon, emulation was the engine of trade, since 'Man being Naturally Ambitious, the Living together, occasion[s] Emulation, which is seen by Out-Vying one another in Apparel, Equipage, and Furniture of the House'.[191] The 'ambitious' *enseigne* similarly competed to draw in, indeed seduce, the urban passerby, by being bigger, more colourful, or more inventive, than its neighbours—recalling the origin of the word 'advertisement' itself in '"turn[ing] the mind" (*ad* + *verto*) toward a topic'.[192]

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[186] David Garrioch, 'House Names, Shop Signs and Social Organization in Western European Cities, 1500-1900', *Urban History*, 21:1 (April, 1994), 20-48 (pp.31-35); see also Sir Ambrose Heal, *The Signboards of Old London Shops*, 2nd edn (London: Portman Books, 1988), pp.8-12. On shop signs generally, see Alfred Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers et professions exercés dans Paris depuis le treizième siècle* (Paris; Leipzig: Librairie Universitaire française et étrangère, 1906), pp.303-6 and John Grand-Carteret, *L'Enseigne: son histoire, sa philosophie, ses particularités* (Grenoble; Moutiers: Librairie Dauphinoise; Librairie Savoyard, 1902).

[187] Garrioch, 'House Names', p.36.

[188] Garrioch, 'House Names', p.47.

[189] Fournier, *Enseignes*, p.13.

[190] [van Schevichaven], *Signboards*, p.6.

[191] [Barbon], *Discourse of Trade*, p.69.

[192] Barbara M. Benedict, 'Encounters with the Object: Advertisements, Time, and Literary Discourse in the Early Eighteenth-century Thing-Poem', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 40:2 (Winter, 2007), 193-207 (p.195).

In France, such 'outvyings' gave rise to a series of edicts attempting to impose order on the city's signs. Decrees limited their size in 1669, 1670, 1761 and 1784, though their proliferation suggests desperation as much as authority.[193] No such rules curtailed British businesses until the Westminster Paving Act of 1761, as evidenced by a 1752 engraving by John Bowles (fig. 70).[194] The effect amounted to what Stephanie Koscak dubs 'a cacophony of urban clutter', simultaneously attempting to 'establish location, advertise wares, and attract the eyes of urban perambulators'.[195]

L'Enseigne was itself part of this kind of urban fabric, and it makes its own attempt to seduce the passerby by providing a vision of the shop beneath it, where groups of well-dressed connoisseurs converse and study paintings (fig. 71). Our core information on the picture's production comes from Gersaint's biography of Watteau, which reports it was a gift, given in the consciousness that Gersaint was 'dans les premières années de [son] établissement'.[196] He had already had a set-back when his first establishment had burnt down, along with the rest of the Petit Pont on which it had stood.[197] Watteau's offer therefore reflects Carolyn Sargentson's picture of eighteenth-century trade, wherein '[p]ersonal and business finances were inseparable […] and the family was an important source for capital'.[198] Indeed, as Guillaume Glorieux has established, his gift was an idealised vision of Gersaint's rather

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[193] Christopher Todd, 'French Advertising in the Eighteenth Century', *SVEC*, 266 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1989), 513-47 (p.522).

[194] Jonathan Conlin, '"At the Expense of the Public": The Sign Painters' Exhibition of 1762 and the Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 36:1 (Fall, 2002), 1-21 (p.12).

[195] Stephanie Koscak, 'The Royal Sign and Visual Literacy in Eighteenth-century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55 (January, 2016), 24-56 (p.31).

[196] Gersaint, *Abrégé*, in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.37.

[197] Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint*, pp.47-52.

[198] Sargentson, *Merchants*, p.26.

cramped and dilapidated premises.[199] McClellan similarly characterises *L'Enseigne* as 'an ingenious blend of fantasy and reality', a seductive offer to the passerby, rather than a realistic representation.[200]

However, in his biography, Gersaint appears keen to remove *L'Enseigne* from this commercial context. As suggested by the famous allusion to the artist seeking to '*se dégourdir les doigts*', Gersaint presents Watteau's offer as based on friendship, and the painting itself—in Julie Plax's words—as 'a trifle, dashed off in a few mornings' work'.[201] Indeed, Plax suggests that Gersaint's disposal of *L'Enseigne*, sold on to Claude Glucq soon after the artist's death, sprung from his concern that the painting 'focus[ed] attention on Gersaint as merchant, not […] the dear, lifelong friend of Watteau'.[202] The emphasis on friendship and play in his biography was, she argues, an attempt to counter this, placing *L'Enseigne* in the context of *honnêteté,* of refined friendship, sociability and gift-giving, rather than commercialism and trade.

However, the painting itself suggests that Watteau was less concerned by such issues than was his friend. Indeed, by the time he came to *L'Enseigne*, Watteau seems to have been actively exploring the shop sign's implied points of division between 'high' and 'low' art. *L'Enseigne* demonstrates an interest in the shop sign's associations with identity, with commerce, and with competition for walkers' attention. Its destination, the Pont Notre Dame, was in need of restoration by the time Gersaint moved there in 1718, and the bridge itself 'n'avait pas bonne réputation'.[203] Though painters and picture dealers represented some 30% of the tradesmen working there, their credit was diminished by adjacent studios such as the

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[199] Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint*, pp.79-80; see also the visual recreation of the shop, p.552

[200] McClellan, 'Watteau's Dealer', p.439.

[201] Gersaint, *Abrégé*, in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.37 (italics in original); Plax, 'Gersaint's Biography', p.555.

[202] Posner, *Watteau,* pp.272-73; Plax, 'Gersaint's Biography', p.556.

[203] Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint*, pp.59-61, 64.

one where Watteau had worked in his early days in Paris, where, as Gersaint himself describes, 'une douzaine de misérables élèves' would make mass-market copies of existing paintings.[204] Indeed, as Guillaume Glorieux highlights, by the 1720s the expression 'tableau du pont Notre-Dame' was synonymous with hackwork.[205]

Precisely located in the city both by its depiction of Gersaint's shop, and its physical placement above it, Watteau's *Enseigne* was a literal 'tableau du pont Notre-Dame', in contrast to a painting like *Cythère*, produced for the Academy. The shop sign therefore represents a successful artist returning to humbler beginnings, remembering the period when, on the same bridge, he had worked as a copyist, and, moreover, doing so through the pointedly humble, 'low art' genre of the *enseigne*.[206] Ironically, when engraving *L'Enseigne* for the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 72), Aveline attempted to 'retro-fit' the picture into the structure of Watteau's other easel paintings, perhaps a sign that his client, Jullienne, shared Gersaint's discomfort about the original picture's commercial context.[207] Though the *Recueil* names *L'Enseigne* as an 'enseigne', it obscures many of the material qualities that mark it as such. It gives no indication that the original is more than twice the size of *Cythère*, the largest easel painting in the *Recueil* and, in fact, works not from Watteau's original, but from the copy produced by Jean-

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[204] Gersaint, *Abrégé*, in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.30-31.

[205] Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint*, p.64.

[206] Gersaint, *Abrégé*, in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, p.31; Caylus, *La Vie d'Antoine Watteau* [1748], in *Vies anciennes*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.57-8.

[207] On the *Recueil* itself as a statement of friendship in the context of *honnêteté*, see Julie Anne Plax, 'Belonging to the In Crowd: Watteau and the Bonds of Art and Friendship, *Studies in the History of Art*, 72 (2007), 48-71 (pp.61-66).

Baptiste Pater (1695-1736), which 'filled in' the painting's distinctive rounded edges, giving it the rectangular shape more characteristic of Academic easel painting.[208]

L'Enseigne is not an easel painting, but rather a depiction of easel paintings. The pictures in Gersaint's idealised shop are pastiches of artists including Veronese, Van Dyck and Rubens.[209] As well as obliquely alluding to his training on the Pont Notre Dame, they recall Watteau's period of study with Pierre Crozat, and the copies he had made after his old masters.[210] So, although viewed by Anita Brookner as 'no more than a flattering reference to Gersaint's stock', they are also a self-conscious demonstration of the artist's Protean skill.[211] This close relationship between the examples of artistic production which *L'Enseigne* represents and Watteau's own career means that the painting exemplifies the self-presentation and promotion of the *enseigne* 'genre' itself.

Moreover, when read *as* an *enseigne*, *L'Enseigne* also calls attention to the material reality, and mechanical production, of painting, and to the hierarchies thereby implied. While presenting its creator as a guiding impresario, *L'Enseigne* therefore also situates him within the commercial reality of buying and selling, the need to promote his skills to a Parisian audience. This supports Humphrey Wine's suggestion that, although *L'Enseigne* was 'an advertisement for Gersaint's shop', it 'would also have served as an advertisement for Watteau

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[208] For *L'Enseigne*'s engraving history, see Vogtherr and De Calisse, 'Watteau's "Shop-sign"', pp.298-300. The original was subjected to a similar 'filling in', as a result of which it too is now rectangular; see ibid., pp. 298-300.

[209] Josz, *Watteau*, pp.440-41 was the first to attempt to find these paintings' originals, but they are now accepted as pastiches. See Haskin, '"L'Enseigne"', pp.31-34.

[210] Haskin, '"L'Enseigne"', p.34.

[211] Anita Brookner, *Watteau*, rev. edn (London: Hamlyn, 1971), p.17.

himself', explaining 'Watteau's insistence, as related by Gersaint, on having the work displayed outside of a shop which […] must have been visible to numerous passers-by'.[212]

This position might not have attracted the commendation of the Academy, but could have caught the eye of Watteau's collectors: 'noblemen and government officials, financiers, merchants and a fair number of artists', many of whom, according to Donald Posner, seem to have patronised him 'more because of the recommendation of Watteau's friends than because of any real familiarity with developments in the contemporary art world'.[213] This is interesting in the context of Plax's suggestion that *L'Enseigne* should be seen as arising 'out of a web of personal meanings' as a conscious demonstration of 'wit, or *esprit*'.[214] While Plax is arguing in favour of Gersaint's presentation of the picture as an example of *honnêteté*, this description equally applies to the idiosyncratic reference points of the *enseigne* genre itself.

This conscious play between the commercial and material context of painting is reflected in *L'Enseigne*'s address to various different types and ways of looking, itself a central feature of the eighteenth-century art dealership.[215] The group crowded around the shop counter gaze at the mirror the shopkeeper presents to them, but could be looking equally at aspects of the material object—the mirror's surface, or its decoration and gilding—or at what Marian Hobson describes as 'the mirror's space', and therefore at themselves within it.[216] Indeed, Hobson describes the experience of looking in a mirror, and at a rococo painting, as an

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[212] Humphrey Wine, 'Watteau's Consumption and "L'Enseigne de Gersaint"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (April, 1990), 163-70 (p.168).

[213] Posner, *Watteau*, pp.121-22.

[214] Plax, 'Belonging to the In Crowd', p.58.

[215] Daniela Bleichmar, 'Learning to Look: Visual Expertise Across Art and Science in Eighteenth-century France', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 46:1 (Fall, 2012), 85-111 (p.101).

[216] Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.51.

oscillation between these two ways of seeing.[217] Something similar is happening nearby. A gentleman kneels in front of an array of painted nude woman presented to him by another shopkeeper, apparently engaged in the kind of connoisseurial activity later mocked by Hogarth, who described an art dealer 'spitting in an obscure place, and rubbing [the painting] with a dirty handkerchief' before declaring 'an amazing touch!'.[218]

Hogarth's critique, which also emphasises the materiality of the picture, hinges on the connoisseur's failure to consider its painted surface. Indeed, as Mary Vidal has pointed out with reference to *L'Enseigne*'s connoisseur, 'when *we* look closer, we realize that at such close range [this] man sees as much paint as he wants to see flesh'.[219] There is then a paradoxical oscillation between the bodies of the women represented in the painting and the fleshy, material reality of the painted surface. Indeed, it is significant that Watteau should have chosen an explicitly 'fleshy' picture to make this point. This decision calls attention to the importance of gender within the shop, the male connoisseur imagined to regard the painting with a different eye from the demurely clad widow, apparently looking intently at foliage. At the same time, it provides a sexualised context for this visual oscillation, as Hogarth's critique does not. This underlines both its particular relevance to the seductive context of the urban *enseigne*, and the erotics of such commercial consumption.

Vidal characterises the lecherous connoisseur as an instance of *L'Enseigne*'s conscious back-and-forth between 'figures and objects of art', arguing that he implicates the viewer, forcing them to centre their attention 'on the figures themselves', rather than the 'secondary, reflected image'. This is a similar demand to the one made by the *Harlot* (discussed in Chap-

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[217] Hobson, *Object of Art*, pp.50-51.

[218] William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by himself…*, ed. John Bowyer Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols, 1833), p.40.

[219] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.188.

ter Three) whose Mother Needham, herself a type of urban trader, is both surface (aristocratic woman) and substance (bawd). However, Vidal omits the point that this exploration of art takes place in a commercial setting, in the context of an 'enseigne', or 'tableau de Pont Notre Dame'. *L'Enseigne*'s material reality requires us to oscillate further, between recognising the work as a flattering depiction of Gersaint's shop and therefore an artificial construction, part of the painter's art, but also, crucially, as an explicitly commercial object. Its ideas are couched in the context of the shop, and the commerce that shop represents, as an advertisement for the Parisian passerby.

Seduction in the urban boutique

Watteau's three depictions of commerce, the *Barbier*, the *Intérieur d'une boutique*, and *L'Enseigne*, all mediate differently the distinction between the street, where the *enseigne* would hang, and the shop, to which the passerby was drawn. The *Barbier* (fig. 73) represents the boutique as a theatrical space, a curtain hanging behind the proscenium arch-like plinths at either side. Though he never developed this original idea in a completed *enseigne* or painting, Watteau always retained this idea that the commercial space is theatrical, a place where the rules of the street, and the world, may not apply. Indeed, his approach reflects Clare Walsh's description of how London shopkeepers, a model for their Parisian colleagues, created pleasurable shopping environments as 'not only a manipulative strategy, but a social space colonized and in a sense "owned" by the shop's customers', a seductive place apart from the everyday.[220]

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[220] Walsh, 'Shop Design', p.169. For the influence of the 'magasins anglais' in Paris during this period, see Sargentson, *Merchants*, pp.113-42.

In the later *Intérieur d'une boutique* (fig. 74), as in *L'Enseigne*, Watteau imagines the shop in stage-like single-point perspective, opening from the street, its frontage removed. This approach, again imagining the shop as an artificial world, was well established, having appeared previously in two signboards which Gustave Level has suggested as precedents for, and possible influences on, *L'Enseigne* (figs. 75-76).[221] Watteau's addition to this precedent is the figure of the customer stepping over the threshold, a transitional figure between two worlds.[222] As they make the crossing, they invite the viewer to step across with them. In *L'Enseigne*, this position is occupied by the pink-clad woman, who is herself further invited into the shop by the young man facing us. His tricorn hat suggests he is her fellow traveller, seeking to guide her along in a memory of the courting couples of *Cythère* (discussed in Chapter One). However, his act of encouraging her into the shop is also that of the gentleman-merchant, who similarly seeks, via such devices as an *enseigne*, to change the street-walker's direction, drawing them over the threshold. Appropriately, the large painting hanging directly above this couple shows the Ovidian theme of Pan pursuing Syrinx (fig. 77). For Robert Neuman, this is 'a witty comment on the sexual dynamics which may underlie the conventions of polite behaviour'.[223]

However, it is equally a reminder of the interconnection between luxury consumption and sexual seduction. Like Pan, who appears from among the reeds, attempting to grasp the fleeing Syrinx, the shopkeeper seeks to grab the attention of the passerby, forcing them to change direction. The painting on the wall subtly underlines the erotics of this attempt, implicitly coding the shopkeeper as male and the shopper as female, and linking this commercial ac-

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[221] Gustave Level, 'A propos de deux esquisses d'enseignes du XVIII[e] siècle', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français*, année 1921 (1922), 55-61. See also François Boucher, 'Les Sources d'inspiration de "L'Enseigne de Gersaint"', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, année 1957 (1958), 123-29.

[222] On the *Enseigne* as theatrical, see, for example, Clark, *Looking at Pictures*, p.85.

[223] Neuman, 'Watteau's "L'Enseigne"', p.154.

tivity with the imagined relationship between the youthful, aristocratic couple below. At the same time, these figures do not get it quite right: the lady steps over the threshold, but refuses the hand offered to her, her attention apparently taken up by the portrait of Louis XIV being packed, or unpacked, beside her.[224] This detail underlines the inherent uncertainty of the shopkeeper's attempt at seduction: the customer could always be distracted by something else.

As suggested, the implicit link between commercial and sexual seduction is reflected in the tendency for eighteenth-century representations of trade, like the earlier *Marchande-lingère*, to split shopper and shopkeeper along gender lines. Indeed, if Watteau did draw on the signboards Level cites, (figs. 75-76), his major change to those compositions was to introduce this gender asymmetry, underlining its importance for his own conception of trade. Once the customer has entered the shop, the interaction between these two figures determines everything and, in the *Intérieur d'une boutique* (fig. 74), Watteau follows the example of earlier signboards by focusing on their face to face encounter. Though less explicitly confrontational than the *Marchande-lingère*, his figures, like those in the engraving, mirror each other. Their heads are at the same height and they look at each other in profile, highlighting the back-and-forth nature of their interaction.

This back-and-forth could apply equally to a pleasurable, wheedling conversation and to a vigorous, adversarial negotiation and, as I show, this mirroring allows for a spectrum of imaginative interactions. However, a mimetic relationship between shopper and shopkeeper also reflects established eighteenth-century commercial tactics. Natacha Coquery notes that French shopkeepers needed to 'clai[m] to belong to a shopkeeping aristocracy',

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[224] For the portrait of Louis XIV, see, particularly, Thomas E. Kaiser, 'The Monarchy, Public Opinion and the Subversions of Antoine Watteau', in *Antoine Watteau*, ed. Sheriff, pp.63-75; Caplan, *In the King's Wake*, pp. 78-81 and Neuman, 'Watteau's "L'Enseigne"'.

mirroring, as far as possible, the mien and customs of their clients.[225] Marivaux was explicit in saying that the bourgeois shopkeeper 'voudroit bien imiter' the aristocrat, but that 'il fait comme ceux qui se haussent sur leurs talons pour paroître plus grands'.[226] Though this pathetic attempt may not prevent success with those 'qui n'ont pas la force de dire non', the merchant's failure to achieve the 'politesse' and 'l'air naturel' of the upper classes makes him unconvincing to Marivaux's 'Spectateur'. In addition to seductive prowess, then, the shopkeeper's success depends on the ability to convince the shopper that they are buying from someone like themselves, in a winning combination of social similarity and implicit sexual difference.

The *Intérieur d'une boutique* underlines the importance of such social mimesis. The distinction between buyers and sellers is only spelled out in the case of the woman behind the counter. Elsewhere, the dominant activity seems to be not trade, but discussion. The strangely attired man at the bottom right displays fabric to the man entering the shop, but it is unclear whether he is canvassing for opinions or touting for a sale. By contrast, in the earlier signboards, the figures around the counter are either workmen (fig. 76), or a defined group of customers (fig. 75). The ambiguity of the draper's shop is more distinctive still in Watteau's *Barbier*, which deviates from earlier precedents by omitting the clear cut trappings of the shop environment, notably the counter. The result is that the interactions taking place seem as sociable as they are transactional—echoing the quasi-aristocratic sociability evoked by Gersaint, in his careful description of *L'Enseigne*.

As Marivaux's example suggests, this mimetic fluidity was not Watteau's invention. In 1678, Jean Lepautre had published an engraving in the *Mercure de France*, titled *Boutique de galanterie* (fig. 78). Here, the man gesturing to the lace around him seems to be the woman's

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[225] Coquery, 'Language of Success', p.76. For class in the urban boutique, see Henri Lévy-Bruhl, 'La Noblesse de France et le commerce à la fin de l'ancien régime', *Revue d'histoire moderne*, VIII (1933), 209-35.

[226] Marivaux, *Spectateur*, II., p.483.

companion, in another cross-gender pairing. However, the setting makes it equally possible to read him as the shopkeeper, highlighting the imaginative fusion between sexual and commercial seduction in such a setting. In any case, much like the man with the tricorn hat in *L'Enseigne*, he adopts the shopkeeper's role, pointing out features of the display, and thereby combining commerce with models of courtship and gallantry. Indeed, contextually, there is little sign that this 'boutique' is anything other than a collector's cabinet.

Lepautre's composition borrows from Baroque *Kunstkammer* paintings, such as Willem van Haecht's *Gallery of Cornelis van de Geerst* (fig. 79), with which tradition the paintings-within-a-painting of Watteau's *Enseigne* have an obvious connection.[227] However, the difference between this engraving and that tradition is that the objects displayed are all semi-luxury, contemporary goods, apparently elevated to the status of objects for veneration. Displayed as 'things', rather than as useful items for commercial exchange, the collars, fabrics and wigs presented for the woman's perusal recall Karl Marx's 'commodity fetish': an item that has acquired a 'fantastical' aura by virtue of being endowed with a life and value of its own, separate from the social context in which it is exchanged.[228]

As well as the social interaction implied by the figures' conversation, the items for sale draw the shopper in. This idea is central to both Watteau's drawings, which focus on what Vidal dubbed 'the grooming and adornment of the French elite'.[229] While the collars and swatches in Lepautre's engraving are only linked by implication to the coiffed and elaborately dressed bodies surveying them, the *Barbier* is explicit in presenting the aristocratic

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[227] The link between *L'Enseigne* and the *Kunstkammer* tradition has been made by Haskin, '"L'Enseigne"', p. 35, Neuman, 'Watteau's "L'Enseigne"', p.154 and Paul Mantz, *Antoine Watteau* (Paris: À la librairie illustrée, 1892), pp.127-28. See also Bleichmar, 'Learning to Look', p.101.

[228] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes, 3 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), I. pp.163-77. For a discussion of the 'commodity fetish' in relation to the English eighteenth century, see Mackie, *Market à la Mode*, esp. pp.30-54.

[229] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.190.

body itself as a work of art, to whose creation the luxury object contributes. Vidal highlights the figure 'enthroned' at its centre, 'undergoing the transformative process that will transform him into a finely wrought piece, like the gentleman who stands behind him on the right'.[230] However, this discussion, like her argument about *L'Enseigne*, omits the transformative agent itself—the wig—thereby occluding the commercial context in which this transformation, and its proffered seductions, take place.

Underlining the object's importance, wigs appear everywhere in the *Barbier*, evenly spaced along Watteau's frieze-like composition. Five of the men depicted wear them, but six hang bodiless; a ratio highlighting the primacy of the object for sale over the man who buys it. In the hands of the barbers holding them at the far right and far left of the composition, these wigs are at once objectified and eerily anthropomorphic. Their alchemic power, in the right context, is suggested by the reaction of one of the customers. He bends down as he tugs on a wig, and gazes at his reflection, but his posture is equally suggestive of bowing, foreshadowing the genuflecting connoisseur in *L'Enseigne*. The luxury object makes another luxury object of the man who wears it.[231]

Indeed, the potential replacement of human by commodity, discussed by Erin Mackie, is suggested in Watteau's drawing by the compositional continuum of the mirror-gazing customer's half-effaced reflection and the literally faceless mannequins on the plinths at either side of the composition.[232] What they offer the passing street-walker is not so much a desirable 'thing' as that thing's transformative potential; its ability to make the buyer into art. In this context, the historical shopkeeper's desire to 'mirror' his or her client can also be read

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[230] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.190.

[231] For an English example, see [Addison], *Spectator*, No. 275 (Tuesday 15 January, 1712), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, II., pp.570-73 (p.571), and its discussion in Mackie, *Market à la Mode*, pp.66-67.

[232] Mackie, *Market à la Mode*, p.36.

as an attempt to model the potential of the products they sell, to the point where their own identity is obliterated, entirely defined by the proposed relationship between client and commodity.

In *L'Enseigne,* the shopkeeper is shunted to the right-hand side of the picture, reducing her compositional importance. This woman's costume, with its neckerchief and head-covering, is almost identical to that of the female customer lolling against the counter, so that the relationship initially seems akin to the models of sociable conversation I have highlighted. At the same time, she is self-effacing: holding up another mirror, she literally reflects her customers—a male-dominated group—back on themselves, and the similarity between the broadly triangular shape of her body and the outline of the mirror signals an equivalence between her role and that of the object she presents. Its appeal is clear from the absorbed expressions of the customers. Watteau thus presents the shopkeeper as an intermediary figure between customer and stock, 'seducing' the customer by presenting an appealing vision of themselves, not just her wares. Though it is a legitimately sanctioned part of urban life, this commercial seduction works in a similar way to the 'illegitimate' one proffered by Mother Needham, whose 'Uhr' is at once a luxury object to which Moll Hackabout can aspire, and a symbol of the progress that awaits her once she has succumbed. As *L'Enseigne* and the *Barbier* underline, the urban seducer's offer is impossible *without* those wares: the relationship between shopkeeper and shopper (or bawd and country girl) is negotiated through them. Watteau's joke is to make this point through works that are themselves (plans for) material objects, taking their own place among the city's 'cacophony of clutter'.

The shop counter

Watteau's depictions of shops imagine them as places of quasi-aristocratic deportment, the shopkeeper 'mirroring' their customer's mien. However, there is another important distinction between Lepautre's 'kunstkammer' tradition and the commercial one adapted in the *Intérieur d'une boutique* and *L'Enseigne.* This is the shop counter, which the *Intérieur* shows as a point of division between shopper and shopkeeper. Despite mirroring her male companion, the woman behind the counter in the drawing is less delineated than her customer, putting her lower down the social scale, in a similar position to the mirror-holding shop assistant of *L'Enseigne*. However, the counter was not always a point of division between a deferential, if seductive, shopkeeper and an implicitly higher-class customer. It could also be a contested space, as in the *Marchande-lingère*, where it is the setting for reciprocal struggle between evenly-matched adversaries, each determined to get the better of the other. As at once marker of social difference and setting for tug of war, the shop counter reflects the complexities of eighteenth-century commerce itself.

Indeed, while this chapter has so far focused on the seductive potential of the shopkeeper, the two main actors in a commercial exchange were constantly subject to an imaginative role reversal, leaving the respective positions of 'seducer' and 'seduced' unclear. The counter, a particular focus of anxiety, focused these ambiguities. Though this discussion has focused on France, this section also introduces English examples, as I will conclude by asking how Hogarth responded to this context.

Despite accepting the counter as a sparring ground between equals, many commentators highlighted the counter's particular dangers for the virtue of female shopkeepers. Rather than seducers, such shopkeepers were imagined as seducers' prey. As Marivaux observed: 'le Comptoir est une place d'une dangereuse conséquence pour un mari, quand sa

femme est belle & qu'elle l'occupe'. Calling attention to the 'comptoir' as a space within the shop, and once again assuming a division of gender between shopper and shopkeeper, he argued that 'les regards des curieux qui la contemplent, donnent aux siens une hardiesse qui des yeux, passe dans le discours & du discours dans les actions'.[233] A seventeenth-century engraving after Claude Simpol, known as *Cavalier achetant des dentelles* (fig. 80) apparently illustrates this. Like Marivaux, Simpol pairs a female shopkeeper with a male shopper, a significantly titled 'cavalier', who dominates the composition. Both he and the counter on which he leans block off the female shopkeeper from the world beyond. Meanwhile, his unseen face—which Adhémar has connected with Watteau's work—allows the viewer to project onto him any number of expressions and intentions. No matter which we choose (a hint comes from his louche crossed leg) the shopkeeper always smiles obligingly.[234]

In contrast to the vision of dominant female seductiveness implied by the *Marchande-lingère*, these evocations imagine the shopper, not the shopkeeper, as the primary seductive actor. 'R. Campbell', in his *London Tradesman*, considered the counter a kind of trap, or 'snare', keeping a 'young Creature' pinned to a single spot, and vulnerable to the machinations of 'cavaliers' like Simpol's, where '[t]he Mistress, tho' honest, is obliged to bear the Wretch's Ribaldry, out of Regard to his Custom'.[235] The difference between the 'Mistress' and the bawd is one of intention, but not of effect. Indeed Campbell considered that many private milliner-managers took that title as 'a more polite name for a Bawd, a Procuress'.[236] Once be-

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[233] Marivaux, *Spectateur*, II., p.495.

[234] On this engraving, see Hélène [de Vallée] Adhémar, 'Sources de l'art de Watteau: Claude Simpol', *Promethée: L'Amour de l'Art*, III (April 1939), 67-74 (pp.67-70). For smiling and prostitution, see Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden Ladies: Pimp General Jack and the Extraordinary Story of Harris's List* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2005), p.295.

[235] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p.208.

[236] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p.209.

hind the counter, the shop assistant, too, is for sale, in which context her attempt to 'mirror' the behaviour and manners of her clients could get her into trouble. Moreover, as underlined by Marivaux's specific emphasis on the potentially cuckolded (yet absent) husband in this relationship, the effects of such seductions were far-reaching: like literal prostitution, they threatened the authority of husbands and fathers, and even the moral fabric of the city itself.

However, while these readings continue to associate the female-gendered shopkeeper with the prostitute, explicitly or otherwise, she is no longer the predatory streetwalker implied by the *Marchande-lingère*, but a kind of 'fallen woman', vulnerable to those around her. The shift is reflected in Marivaux's metaphor of a gradual weathering, a wearing down of virtue that paradoxically manifests as a 'hardiesse', a strength. In contrast to the 'fall' of Moll Hackabout, who physically deviates from the correct path (a 'seduction' in the etymological sense), the shopkeeper's seduction, as Marivaux highlights, is effected through *absence* of movement. Rather than being 'led astray', the shopkeeper 'falls' because she is unable to move. The counter pins her to a 'place d'une dangereuse conséquence' for long enough to allow 'les regards des curieux' to affect her, to press her from one commercial transaction to another. However, this seduction shares with the *Harlot*'s first plate an emphasis on 'regards', and 'discours' over coercion. While the counter puts the shopkeeper on display, establishing her as one of the city's temptations to the unscrupulous, it also provides a physical barrier between her and her customers, confining their attempts to verbal persuasion.

Nonetheless, these readings imagine the counter as almost inherently dangerous for the female shopkeeper, whose imagined 'seduction' by unscrupulous shoppers transforms her from dominant commercial actor to seduced maiden. However, as Campbell's specific reference to milliner-managers suggests, the counter's risks were felt to be particularly potent in shops selling clothing—like those of the *Cavalier*, the *Marchande-lingère*, and Watteau's *Boutique*. As Benabou reports, 'métiers de l'étoffe' accounted for 91.6% of all the occupations

declared by prostitutes arrested between 1766-67 and 1770, a figure high enough to suggest a similar trend earlier.[237] Indeed, Campbell declared that 'of all the common Women of the Town, who take their Walks between *Charing-Cross* and *Fleet-Ditch* [….] I am persuaded, more than half of them have been bred Milliners'.[238] Among the principal occupations available to unmarried women, millinery was associated with 'luxury frivolity and frippery, all of which were assumed to have a detrimental effect on the female character'.[239] Indeed, though it describes the stock, this reference could equally apply to the bawd and her trappings.

With the milliner herself already vulnerable, the problem was compounded by her customers. Campbell specified, in terms that echoed Marivaux's, that '[t]he vast Resort of young Beaus and Rakes to Milliner's Shops, exposes young Creatures to many Temptations, and insensibly debauches their Morals before they are capable of Vice'.[240] *The Spectator* had suspected a similar trend in 1711, publishing a letter complaining that 'a young Fop cannot buy a Pair of Gloves, but he is at the same Time straining for some ingenious Ribaldry to say to the Young woman who helps them on'.[241] For both, millinery's danger was twofold: it pinned susceptible women behind a counter, and forced them to listen to the sort of people interested in what milliners sold. *Beaux*, rakes, and fops, men concerned with outward show and bodily adornment: these were the kind of ostensibly aristocratic men shown in Watteau's *Barbier* and draper's shop—and indeed, in many cases, the men against whom any working-class woman might usually be warned.

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[237] Benabou, *Prostitution*, pp.280-86.

[238] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p.209.

[239] Carter, *Purchasing Power*, p.15.

[240] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p.208.

[241] [Richard Steele], *The Spectator*, No. 155 (Tuesday 28 August, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, II., pp.107-10 (p. 108).

The risks of engaging with men who, as the *Spectator* described them, would 'loll upon their Counters half an Hour longer than they need', failing to buy anything and dallying with the milliner 'to the injury of her whose credit is certainly hurt by it', reflects Campbell's sense that the counter is not a neutral point of division between polite customer and genial shopkeeper. However, as suggested by the contrast between these examples and the mirror-holding woman of *L'Enseigne*, they also highlight a fluidity in the relationship between shopper and shopkeeper. Marivaux's discussion encapsulates this, imagining the female shopkeeper both as a dangerous 'Chirugien', figuratively bleeding her customers dry, and as vulnerable to the machinations of the facetious, time-wasting customer.

This was particularly problematic, and explicitly figured through sexual virtue, when, as in these examples, that shopkeeper is gendered as female. Though it could also affect their male equivalents, this was chiefly in their interactions with their social superiors. In the late seventeenth century, Jacques Savary (1622-1690) warned tradesmen not to believe the 'flateries & paroles emmiellées' of the aristocrat(-seducer) seeking to pay on credit 'quand ils ne sont pas soigneux de payer'. Despite describing an interaction between men, Savary invites a conflation of financial and sexual credit. He warns his shopkeeper-reader, of aristocrats, that 'j'en ay connu qui ont voulu du mal à leurs Marchands qui avoient donné leur marchandise trop facilement'.[242] The language prefigures Defoe's later assertion, of marriage, that '[h]e's a Rogue […] that gets a Woman with Child before Marriage; and he's a Fool that marries her afterwards'.[243] Just as no woman should expect marriage after seduction, Savary warns that an aristocrat seeking credit will not respect those who give it to him. Indeed, just as the *Spectator* inherently suspects the 'young Fop', Savary presents 'grand Seigneurs' as

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[242] Jacques Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant, ou instruction générale pour ce qui regarde le commerce…* (Paris: Chez Jean Guignard fils, 1675), p.310.

[243] [Defoe], *Conjugal Lewdness*, pp.278, 282.

unworthy of a merchant's trust by virtue of their social position. This conflation of sexual virtue and financial credit therefore implicitly repeats the stock narrative of sexual seduction discussed in Chapter Two: the resource-heavy aristocrat; the hapless dupe of a lower class. At the same time, aristocrats' documented tardiness in bill-paying, in both England and France, suggests that such suspicion was frequently justified.[244]

These characterisations convey a sense that shopkeeping could be dangerous if not undertaken correctly, something Margaret Hunt confirms. In an argument recalling Sargentson's description of merchants like Gersaint, she argues that '[t]he shaky structure of trade and enterprise coupled with the lack of clear boundaries between the family and entrepreneurship lent a special precariousness to English middling life'. In a society where 'weighty and delicately balanced structures of credit and debt characterized most trades', failure could be swift, and disastrous.[245] Savary was more blunt, reminding readers that 'en épousant la fille l'on épouse les bonnes ou mauvaises affaires de la maison'.[246]

However, it was also possible to reimagine the seducer-seduced dynamic as a means of controlling such instability. In his 1726 guide for merchants, *The Complete English Tradesman*, Defoe described ladies spending 'a whole afternoon in *Ludgatestreet*, or *Covent Garden*'—the same part of London where he recalled being approached by prostitutes—'only to divert themselves in going from one mercer's shop to another, to look upon their fine silks, and to rattle and banter the journeymen and shopkeepers' without intending to buy.[247] This characterisation echoes the *Spectator's* description of 'fops' lolling upon counters, and, indeed, fops

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[244] See, for England, Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp.42-43 and, for France, Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), p.20.

[245] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p.31.

[246] Savary, *Parfait Négociant*, p.247.

[247] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters; Directing him in all the several Parts and Progressions of Trade* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1726), p.104.

and ladies, both feminine or feminised figures, are linked by an imagined irrationality around fashion.[248]

However, in contrast to the *Spectator*'s description of the hapless 'Young woman' , Defoe insists that, with careful management by the (male) shopkeeper, 'these sorts of ladies have been catch'd in their own snare; that is to say, have been so engaged by the good usage of the shop-keeper, and so unexpectedly surpriz'd with some fine thing or other […] that they have been drawn in by their fancy, against their design, to lay out money'.[249] Defoe's women are on both sides of the seductive interaction. They are initially rakes, dallying with the virtuous, and feminised, shopkeeper 'only to divert themselves'. But they are ultimately seduced maidens, 'caught in their own snare' by the astute management of the bourgeois shopkeeper, whose virtues are re-asserted as those of the sociable Addisonian man, 'all courtesy, civility and good manners', his power that of 'engaging', rather than deceiving, potentially rakish women. Though this presentation of shopper and shopkeeper continues to imagine their relationship as subject to reversal—seducer becoming seduced—Defoe shows the upper hand to lie with the astute management of a bourgeois, and implicitly male, actor, asserting middle-class power over irrational feminine consumption.

Unlike Mother Needham, who offers Moll the opportunity to side-step the drudgery and uncertainty of these trades, Defoe, realistically, declares himself 'no *fortune-teller*' in his guide for merchants.[250] However, he assures his reader that tradesmen will succeed 'if they will but keep in it with a steady foot, and not wander, and launch out here and there, as a loose head and giddy fancy will prompt them to do.'[251] *The Complete English Tradesmen* there-

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[248] I discuss the 'fop' in Chapter Five.

[249] Defoe, *English Tradesman*, p.105.

[250] Defoe, *English Tradesman*, p.120.

[251] Defoe, *English Tradesman*, p.117.

fore offers an alternative 'merchant's progress', warning the tradesman-reader not to be seduced onto what Hogarth might later call '*a wanton kind of chace*'; to avoid launching out 'here and there' and to stay instead on the 'steady' path.[252] Indeed, this represents the early flowering of a genre that grew in the 1730s into the literal 'apprentice's guide'. One of these is at the feet of the industrious Francis Goodchild in Plate 1 of Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (1747), while Tom Idle has instead Defoe's novelistic 'harlot's progress', *Moll Flanders*.[253] An early signal of the differences of ambition between them, this contrast also points to two possible ways of navigating the city. However, as this chapter has shown, choosing one did not necessarily free you of the problems of the other.

Hogarth's shop-card

The tension between 'high' and 'low' art discussed with reference to *L'Enseigne* is also familiar from the career of Hogarth, whose use of the signboard is frequently mentioned by scholars.[254] Signs pervade his paintings and engravings, often inviting multi-layered interpretations of the main action, as well as calling attention to the hierarchies between guild and Academic art.[255] Though this distinction was not as clear cut in England as in France, John Wilkes's implication was clear when he commented in 1762, of Hogarth's appointment as the

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[252] Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.39.

[253] Ronald Paulson, 'The Simplicity of Hogarth's "Industry and Idleness"', *ELH*, 41:3 (Autumn, 1974), 291-320 (p.307).

[254] This starts with Lindsay, *Hogarth*, pp.156-58; see also Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art*, pp.31-48; Hallett, *Hogarth*, pp.30, 131.

[255] On the use of paintings-within-paintings in *Marriage à la Mode*, see Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode*, pp.43-49, 161-66; on Hogarth's use of paintings as narrative devices, Paulson, *Hogarth*, I-III., *passim*; for example, I., pp. 264-69.

King's Serjeant-Painter, that 'Mr. *Hogarth* is only to paint the wainscot of rooms, or, in the phrase of the art, may be called their *pannel-painter*.'[256]

That same year, Bonnell Thornton's Sign Painters' Exhibition gathered together 110 London inn and shop signs for display to the public in Bow Street, apparently as an inaugural exhibition by the 'Society of Sign-Painters', actually a 'satire on the novel phenomenon of the art exhibition', and particularly the one put on by the 'high art' Society of Artists.[257] Here, as with Aveline's engraving for the *Recueil*, the apparent project of *L'Enseigne* is reversed. Rather than putting 'high art' on the street, Thornton's exhibition took 'low art' into the salon. No images of the exhibition or its exhibits have survived, but the resonance of descriptions of 'Hagarty's' signboards, such as 'Nobody, alias Somebody. A Character', with Hogarth's own works led Paulson to speculate that 'Hagarty' was a 'thin disguise' for Hogarth himself.[258] Like Watteau, Hogarth apparently retained an interest in commercial art well beyond his apprenticeship years.

One example from this early time was a trade-card for his sisters Mary (1699-1741) and Ann(e) (1701-71), who had previously opened a milliner's shop in Long Walk, near their former home in Bartholomew Close (fig. 81).[259] Paulson links Hogarth's engraving with *L'En-*

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[256] John Wilkes, *The North Briton*, No. 17 (Saturday, 21 May, 1762), in *The North Briton: Revised and Corrected by the Author*, 2 vols (Dublin: Printed for John Mitchell and James Williams, 1764), I. pp.88-94 (p.94).

[257] Conlin, 'At the Expense of the Public', p.3. See also Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art*, pp.38-43 and Lance Bertelsen, *The Nonsense Club: Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-1764* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 132-50.

[258] [Anonymous], *A Catalogue of the Original Paintings, Busts, Carved Figures &c. now exhibiting, by the Society of Sign-Painters…* (London: Printed for T. Becket, [1762]), cats. 19 and 20, p.8; Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art*, p. 39. Bernd Krysmanski questions the identification of Hogarth and Hagarty in Krysmanski, 'Hagarty, not Hogarth? The True Defender of English "Wit and Humour"', in *Dumb Show*, ed. Ogée, pp.141-59; for a critique, see Conlin, 'At the Expense of the Public', p.20 (46n).

[259] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., pp.232-33.

seigne itself but assigns it either to 1725 or to c.1730.[260] This makes a direct allusion to *L'Enseigne* unlikely, since Aveline's engraving was only published in 1732.[261] However, both works undoubtedly arise from the cross-Channel context around shops and shopkeeping that this chapter has highlighted.

A date of c.1730 would place the card close to the shop move itself, when the Hogarths would have been particularly in need of promotion: indeed, its text advertises that they have 'Removed to ye *Kings Arms* joyning to ye Little Britain-gate'. Here, they sell 'Ready Made Frocks, sutes of Fustian, Ticken & Holland', an indication that they were part of the growing ready-to-wear trade, a strand of sales 'based on a quick turn-over and goods […] priced to attract customers whose name and status were a matter of indifference to the proprietors'.[262] The shop-card is accordingly insistent that the Hogarths sell 'by Wholesale or Retale at Reasonable Rates'; an example of a 'Ready Made' suit hangs prominently by the door.

The shop-card is important as an example of Hogarth's early career in commercial engraving, but, equally, evidences the artist's desire to support his sisters; to extend them the kind of familial 'credit' which Hunt and Sargentson highlight as central to eighteenth-century businesses, and which Gersaint implies lurked behind Watteau's gift of *L'Enseigne*.[263] For Ambrose Heal, trade-cards, unlike the more nebulous *enseignes*, were 'frankly advertisements'.[264] Their

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[260] The c.1725 date appears in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 46, p.111, on the basis of Ann's age; *Hogarth*, I., p.232 simply says it was created '[s]ometime around 1730', since the first shop was opened c.1725 and this card notes the new premises; but p.233 suggests it was an 'homage' to *L'Enseigne*, implying a date post-1732. This discrepancy has not been noted by others, who almost universally prefer c.1730; see Einberg, *Hogarth*), cats. 95-96, pp.160-61 and Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, p.255.

[261] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.232.

[262] Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, pp.238-39. On the ready-to-wear trend, see also Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), pp.123-25.

[263] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp.23-25.

[264] Heal, *Signboards of Old London Shops*, p.5.

small format allowed them to circulate and spread their message beyond the physical space of the shop itself; they were often handed out in the streets in front of the shop to which they referred, or given to customers, sometimes even with the bill provided on the back.[265]

Trade-cards therefore provided a visual record of particular shops, and frequently reproduced the shop sign itself. They thus extended the sign's geographic reach, as well as reversing the relationship between shopper and shopkeeper. In this small, reproducible form, the 'shop' could travel to potential customers, enticing them back to the physical boutique, whereas the immobile *enseigne* could only change the direction of those passing by. Among Hogarth's earliest independent works, c.1723, was one such shop-card for Ellis Gamble (fig. 82).[266] Showing the 'Golden Angel' under which his former master traded in Leicester Fields, it makes clear the signboard's relationship to the modern logo. Some years after Gamble's 'Golden Angel', Thomas Twining's 'Golden Lyon' appeared on the company's written ephemera, in the same place it holds today.[267]

The Hogarths' shop-card is also advertorial and therefore, like Watteau's shop-sign, itself part of the city's commercial fabric. However, unlike Gamble's, it shows not the logo-sign, but the sisters themselves, a distinction of intimacy that reflects the artist's familial, rather than professional, relationship with them. However, in making this decision, Hogarth clearly felt the need to tread a line between the seduction inherent both to the shop-card and the shop itself, and middle-class respectability. The engraving's chronological proximity to the *Harlot's Progress* suggests that it, too, might be seen as a kind of 'prentice's guide', in opposition to that series' tale of seduction into vice. Long Lane, the Hogarth sisters' new location, was, as Paulson highlights, an unfashionable address, dominated by the shops of seam-

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[265] Cox, *Complete Tradesman*, p.110.

[266] Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, cat. 15, p.56; Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 5, pp.92-93.

[267] Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, pp.225-27.

stresses and milliners (whose status I have discussed) and it had a bad reputation, 'at fair time especially'.[268] Hogarth's trade-card emphasises the respectability of this shop, and these shopkeepers, in contradistinction to the clichés surrounding their profession, shopkeeper status, and location. This last was mere minutes away from the coaching inn in Wood Street, where Moll Hackabout—herself a milliner, evidenced by the scissors at her side—encounters Mother Needham.

Accordingly, Hogarth eschews the solution chosen by his contemporary Benjamin Cole, who imagines a haberdasher's shop as a female-dominated space negotiated around a counter (fig. 83). Though the Hogarths' counter occupies the same position as that of *L'Enseigne*, the sisters move around the shop. In contrast to the examples discussed above, this shop's customers include children, which serves both to advertise that they stock 'blucoat Boys Drars', and to neutralise the man at the left, clutching one of them by the hand. David Solkin identifies a similar strategy in later representations of family groups at Vauxhall Gardens, arguing that 'the point of such motifs [as children] was […] to endow the site's well-known erotic character with an enhanced air of respectability—and to imply that this was a place which fostered not only refinement, but the amiable and sympathetic virtues as well'.[269]

Indeed, Hogarth's trade-card is explicit in identifying the man's purchases with the children, one of whom is helped into a ready made suit. Rather than a 'young fop' , searching for frippery to adorn himself, this potentially problematic young man is purchasing necessary clothing for his children. He is a responsible father—or, perhaps more fittingly, given the context of the print's creation, a brother—in search of good clothes 'at Reasonable rates'. As they talk to him, the sisters gesture to details of clothing, demonstrating in turn their business-like approach: they offer bargains, not sociable leisure, and rather than hapless working

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[268] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.232.

[269] Solkin, *Painting for Money*, p.133.

girls, in thrall to an ineffectual milliner-manager, they are directors, in charge of the assistant helping one of the suits on.

Indeed, though the counter behind the sisters, and the fabric in the corner, identify this as a commercial space, the implication of the print's figural configuration is of a family group, in the tradition of the 'conversation picture' to which Paulson alludes. Elements of the setting allow for other points of slippage between the two: the door opening behind the counter (also a feature of *L'Enseigne*) implies an equally cavernous space beyond; the chandelier hanging from the ceiling evokes an elegant interior; the roughly-drawn arrangement of stock initially evokes not so much the shop as the the bookshelves of a library—like the one dominating Hogarth's actual, contemporaneous conversation piece, *The Cholmondeley Family* (1732, Private Collection). However, these women are not the dynastic wives and mothers of the painted conversation piece, designed for the prosperous interior, but respectable businesswomen on a commercial shopcard intended for urban circulation, their bolts of fabric (not yet transformed into 'Ready Made Frocks') indicating their skill; their stock layout speaking to their practicality.

Hogarth's shop-card is pitched to practical people, rather than to the art collectors seeking a rarefied space of retail leisure in Gersaint's shop. However, the Hogarth sisters' implicitly elite space, with its oblique allusions to the conversation piece, nonetheless creates what René Girard has called 'triangular desire', whereby '[i]n order to inflame our desire, advertisers try to convince us that the beautiful people all over the world are already in love with their product'.[270] By representing the sisters' shop as the sort of place upper-class figures might frequent, Hogarth invites his middle-class audience to see it as an aspirational

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[270] René Girard, 'A Woeful Cressid 'Mongst the Merry Greeks: The Love Affair in *Troilus and Cressida*', in *A Theatre of Envy: William Shakespeare* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.123. On 'triangular desire', see René Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset; Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp.4-24.

space for themselves. At the same time, as Paulson notes, it offers the viewer 'another kind of conversation picture', representing the sisters as active participants in a convivial transaction between a customer and his family.[271] On both levels, Hogarth's 'draper's shop' contrasts with the aristocratic space of Watteau's equivalent drawing. For Watteau, the shop is a site for exploring and transforming the aristocratic body through the alchemical urban commodity. Hogarth, on the other hand, his shop sign more personal in origin, viewed the commercial life of Cheapside at least partially through its dangers.

Conclusion

This section highlighted a duality between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' forms of urban seduction. Just as prostitution and the mercenary marriage might be seen as two parts of the same phenomenon (as discussed in Chapter Three), so the bourgeois shopkeeper might imaginatively change places with the aristocratic rake, or the manipulative surgeon. Gender was central to how this negotiation was understood, since the status of women, and women's virtue, within an economy based on commerce, credit, and on seduction, was constantly open to negotiation. The feminised shopkeeper, touting for a sale, could change places with the prostitute, while female shoppers' enthusiastic consumption of attractive commodities provided a ready metaphor for the broader, feminised concerns of credit, luxury and moral and physical degeneration. Defoe's description of rakish women browsing in Ludgate Street underlines the perceived need for the bourgeois, masculine merchant to serve as a steady, mediating figure, controlling and channelling female consumption, through se-

[271] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.232.

ductive strategies but with solid commercial ends, in the context of a well-managed, steady, credit economy.

At the same time, as Defoe's own example shows, the roles of seducer and seduced could become reversed. The rakish shopper may lounge across the counter, and—like the prostitute herself—refuse to participate in the (re)productive work of the city, leaving his or her adversary on the other side of the counter tired, frustrated and, if unlucky, depleted in moral and sexual credit. These anxieties reflected the state of the ever-expanding metropolis itself, which could complicate issues of identity; a risky situation for the visually illiterate, whether gullible shopper or a countrified maiden come to London to seek her fortune. There was a tension here: trade was essential to the healthy running of the city, but its over-indulgence could open the door to financial disaster. For the city to work properly, people must, therefore, be seduced, but *not too much*. As Defoe recognised, 'luxury' represented an opportunity for the bourgeois trader, but its limits needed to be defined, or it could spin out of control.

Though, as Chapter Three suggested, Hogarth relishes the city's visual ambiguities in the *Harlot*, the trade-card he created for his sisters attempts to close down the dangers of advertorial seduction, highlighting respectability over availability, but still drawing people in to spend money. The difficulty of resolving this issue reflects the dangers of shopkeeping during this period, when friendly and familial credit of the type Hogarth offered could be the difference between success and failure. By contrast, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* is a reflective exploration of the painting form itself, which it shows to be both material object and 'window' onto another world. In an exploration of the *enseigne* genre, Watteau, like Hogarth, engages with the urban commercial object as a medium for art. However, he also highlights the commercialism of 'high art' painting itself, a theme that clearly interested him as much as did the convivial environment of the urban boutique. In his representations of shops, Watteau shows the luxury good, whether mirror, painting, or wig, offering the urban passenger the seduc-

tive appeal of transformation through purchase. Arranged in reverential, artistic formations, the wigs in the *Barbier* pull the shopper in with the promise of potential—appropriate for a preliminary sketch for a shop-sign never realised.

Watteau therefore imagines the urban traveller to partake of a world focusing on the playful and powerful possibilities of exteriority, making particularly apt his choice of the outward-looking 'enseigne' genre for his final statement on the subject. His shopkeepers engage in many of the same seductive practices that concerned Marivaux and the engravers of the *Marchande-lingère* and the *Cavalier*: effacing their own identities, they face up to their customers, offering them a vision mediated through the appealing commodity, based not on their own experiences, but on the mien and appearance of the individual shopper. The potential for such behaviour to create a kind of urban 'snare' for helpless young women was well established, but Watteau was less anxious than Hogarth about its implications. Rather, *L'Enseigne* calls attention to the artist's role in its creation, and to the commercial implications of painting in Paris in the 1720s. Describing a playful oscillation between surface and substance, *L'Enseigne* is as much about Watteau the merchant-artist as it is about the dangers of the bawd, or the predatory shopkeeper.

PART THREE:

'Un séducteur aux genoux d'une femme qu'il n'aime pas':

The Theatre

Introduction

Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain* (fig. 84) gazes intently at something we cannot see. The folds of his sleeve are offset by the weight of the curtain he supports, apparently the sole barrier between him and the object of his study. Only his strikingly shadowed face remains uncovered, peering, with voyeuristic intentness. Like the *Barbier* and the *Intérieur d'une boutique*, this is a preliminary, putatively private artist's sketch. However, the void at which the drawn man looks was later filled in. Shortly after producing the drawing, Watteau re-used it in his painting of *The Italian Comedians* (fig. 106).[1] Here, the man gazes at a troupe of *commedia dell'arte* characters preparing for their bow. Now dividing the real world from the illusory, the curtain reveals the unseen spectacle as the stage.

This man 'raises the curtain' on the eighteenth-century theatre—and on Part III of this thesis. While Parts I and II addressed landscapes and cities, milieux historically associated, respectively, with Watteau and with Hogarth, the theatre has, historically, been linked

[1] Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Antoine Watteau, 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*, 3 vols (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996), II. cat. 507, pp.850-51. For the relationship between Watteau's drawings and his painting, see Martin P. Eidelberg, *Watteau's Drawings: Their Use and Significance* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp.9-84.

with both artists.[2] It was also often discussed in the eighteenth century with reference to the issues evoked by the relationship between the *Man Lifting a Curtain* and the *Comedians*. The chalk man is a vision of spectatorship; the *Comedians* displays the spectacle, and the drawing's vision of almost prurient looking hints at the seductions this relationship implies. As Denis Diderot argued at the end of the century, the 'comédien' performed to his audience 'comme un séducteur aux genoux d'une femme qu'il n'aime pas, mais qu'il veut tromper'.[3]

The vision of the actor as 'séducteur' conflates dramatic appeal with sexual seduction. Like the seducer plying his victim with deceptive words, the actor's enticing surface masks an empty substance. His skill is 'non pas à sentir […] mais à rendre si scrupuleusement les signes extérieurs du sentiment, que vous vous y trompiez'.[4] Building on Racine's (1639-99) dictum that acting's 'principale règle' is 'de plaire et de toucher', he represents

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[2] On Watteau and the theatre, see Robert Tomlinson, *La Fête Galante: Watteau et Marivaux* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1981), pp.7-8; François Moureau, 'Watteau in his Time' in *Watteau 1684-1721*, ed. Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, with Nicole Parmantier (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1984), pp.469-506; Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984), pp.49–58, p.150, pp.258-62, p. 276; *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, ed. Katharine Baetjer (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009). On Hogarth and theatre, see Frederick Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp.67-68; Mary F. Klinger, 'Music and Theater in Hogarth', *The Musical Quarterly*, 57:3 (July, 1971), 409-26 and Ronald Paulson, 'Life as a Journey and as Theater: Two Eighteenth-century Narrative Structures', *New Literary History: A Journal of Theory and Interpretation*, VIII (Autumn, 1976), 43-58; Robin Simon, 'Hogarth's Shakespeare', *Apollo*, 59 (March, 1979), 213-20; *Hogarth*, ed. Mark Hallett and Christine Riding (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), pp.55-71; Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: the Rise of the Arts in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007), esp. pp.68-145; Mark Salber Phillips, 'Hogarth and History Painting', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Cynthia Ellen Roman (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.83-113 (pp.98-106). Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) discusses Hogarth's interest in specifically musical performance. Paulson considers Watteau's use of theatre central to what Hogarth took from him; on this, see Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), pp.96-98, p.125.

[3] Denis Diderot, 'Paradoxe sur le comédien', in *Œuvres esthétiques*, ed. Paul Vernière (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1959), pp.299-381 (pp.313). For a discussion of the 'Paradoxe', see Phoebe von Held, *Alienation and Theatricality: Diderot after Brecht* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association; W. S. Manet & Son, 2011), esp. pp.92-136.

[4] Diderot, 'Paradoxe sur le comédien', p.312.

emotions' exterior signs so effectively as to stimulate those same emotions in his audience, drawing them into 'sympathy' with what they see.[5] As Diderot's sceptical phrasing suggests, this idea intersected with an established moral suspicion of the theatre, dominated in the century's early years by figures such as Jacques Bénige Bossuet (1627-1704) and the English non-juror bishop Jeremy Collier (1650-1726).[6] In this context, though Diderot genders his 'comédien' as male, acting's link with seduction could make it particularly problematic for women. 'Widely seen to belong to the social sphere of the prostitute', actresses could unite theatrical and sexual seduction in a way that usually remained metaphorical for their male colleagues.[7] Though not couched as explicitly as in the relationship between shopper and shopkeeper discussed in Part II, gender therefore likewise impacted how the seductions of the actor-audience relationship were understood.

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[5] Racine, 'Préface' to *Bérénice* [1670], in *Racine: œuvres complètes*, ed. Raymond Picard, 2 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1950), I., p.467. On the links between theories of rhetoric, sympathy and acting, see Angelica Goodden, *Actio and Persuasion: Dramatic Performance in Eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp.10-11; Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp.26-57 (p.27); William B. Worthen, *The Idea of the Actor: Drama and the Ethics of Performance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp.71ff; Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles le Brun's 'Conférence sur l'expresion générale et particulière'* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.50-53 and David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau and Mary Shelley* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.9-49.

[6] On Diderot and the anti-theatrical tradition, see Marian Hobson, 'Sensibilité et spectacle: le contexte médical du "Paradoxe sur le comédien" de Diderot', *Revue de Métaphysique et de Moral*, 2 (1977), 145-64; Goodden, *Actio and Persuasion*), e.g., pp.1-27. For anti-theatricality generally, see J. McManners, *Abbés and Actresses: The Church and the Theatrical Profession in Eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) and Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1981), esp. pp.191-255.

[7] Gill Perry, 'Introduction: Painting Actresses' Lives', in Perry and others, *The First Actresses: Nell Gwynn to Sarah Siddons* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011), pp.10-31 (p.10). On this issue in later eighteenth-century France, see Ann Lewis, 'Venality, Theatricality, and the Dark Side of Sociability: "Le Neveu de Rameau" as a Prostitution Narrative', in *The Dark Side of Diderot / Le Diderot des ombres*, ed. James Hanrahan and Síofra Pierse, *French Studies of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford; Bern; Brussels; Frankfurt am Main; New York; Wien: Peter Lang, 2016), pp.87-110.

In 1733, Hogarth produced a small etching that, like Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain*, focuses on spectators. However, unlike Watteau's preparatory sketch, which merely omits it, *The Laughing Audience* (fig. 85) actively, and ironically, effaces the spectacle. Instead of the actor's seductive appeal, the viewer sees just the spectators' responses (sympathetic or otherwise) to the 'séducteur(s)' onstage. This reflects the contemporaneous idea that audiences are the ultimate arbiters of performances, an idea also expressed in France by the Parfaict brothers, who asserted that: '[l]e Jugement du public sera toujours mon guide'.[8] Despite the similarity of their argument, the Parfaicts were writing about a different theatrical world from the one implied in *The Laughing Audience*, closer to the informal setting of Hogarth's *Southwark Fair* (fig. 102), which he produced around the same time.[9] Both types of theatre, on both sides of the Channel, thrived during this period, in the face of official edicts attempting to re-assert state control over them. Britain's 1737 Licensing Act attempted to regulate both what was performed on stage, and where those stages were.[10] In France, Louis XIV's expulsion of the official troupe of Italian Comedians in 1697 partly accounted for the rich *commedia dell'arte* performances at Paris's Foires Saint-Germain and Saint-Laurent.[11]

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[8] [François et Claude Parfaict], *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles de la foire, par un acteur forain*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Briasson, Libraire, rue S. Jacques, 1743), I., p.lxxxiv.

[9] Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-century London Audience* (Austin; London: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp.11-12.

[10] P. J. Crean, 'The Stage Licensing Act of 1737', *Modern Philology*, 35:3 (February, 1938), 239-55 (248-49).

[11] Pierre-Louis Ducharte, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte*, trans. Randolph T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), p.108. For Watteau's relationship with the *commedia*, see Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985). pp.45-74, and, for his painting of the 'Expulsion of the Italian Comedians', Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.8-48 (pp.10-11). For the *commedia* fair performances, see Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-century Paris* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.23-24, and for the fair theatre generally, Frederick Brown, *Theater and Revolution: The Culture of the French Stage* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), pp.42-54.

This section focuses on the seductive relationship between actor and audience highlighted both by *The Laughing Audience* and Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain*. Since the theatre was particularly important to both Watteau and Hogarth, I give each artist almost a full chapter here: Chapter Five focuses on Hogarth; Chapter Six on Watteau. Each concludes with a brief comparative discussion of the other. Beginning with Hogarth's *Laughing Audience*, Chapter Five asks how Hogarth's depiction of audiences implicates actorly seduction. Though this chapter focuses on spectatorship, I conclude by asking how Hogarth's representation of Lavinia Fenton, in his *Beggar's Opera* paintings (figs. 96-98), addresses women performers. Chapter Six moves on to consider Watteau's performing Pierrots, the subject of the red chalk man's interest. Whereas *The Laughing Audience* ironically eschew our gaze, these clowns confront their audience directly. They offer themselves up to our consideration, hoping for our approval. In the process, they call attention, not just to the seductions of the theatre, but to the picture-viewer's place in front of the canvas—and the artist himself as seducer.

Chapter Five

'Neither Auditors nor Actors perfectly, and imperfectly both': Theatrical Audiences

In 1720, an anonymous actor wrote to Richard Steele's journal *Theatre* about audiences. 'The pure Will and Pleasure of the Publick must at last determine our Merit,' he wrote, '[…] and from their Sentence there can be no Appeal'.[12] Steele agreed, asserting that the spectator should 'have reserv'd to them […] their full Right of Applauding, or Disliking the Performance […] whenever [the actor's] Care, or Negligence, shall appear to deserve either the one, or the other'.[13] Framing this two-part interaction as one in which the actor was subservient, he imagined the performer as a would-be seducer. Actors should seek, at once, to win the audience's 'Grace, or Favour', and to sustain a believable theatrical illusion.[14] This was particularly urgent in early eighteenth-century England, where theatre audiences were at once socially pluralistic and famously rowdy, sentences of damnation often resulting in riotous violence.[15]

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[12] Sir John Edgar [Richard Steele], *The Theatre*, No. 2 (Tuesday 5 January, 1719-20), in Steele, *The Theatre: 1720*, ed. John Loftis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp.4-9 (p.6). For the (unsubstantiated) claim that this unnamed actor was Colley Cibber, see p.126.

[13] 'Sir John Edgar' [Richard Steele], *Theatre*, No. 3 (9 January, 1720), in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, pp.9-14 (p.10).

[14] [Steele], *Theatre*, No. 2 (Tuesday 5 January, 1719-20), in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, pp.4-9 (p.6).

[15] For social class and the theatre, see Hughes, *Drama's Patrons*, pp.18-19. On theatrical riots, see Heather McPherson, 'Theatrical Riots and Cultural Politics in Eighteenth-century London', *The Eighteenth Century*, 43:3 (Fall, 2002), 236-52 and Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth-century Drama, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp.11-12.

The etching now known as *The Laughing Audience* (fig. 85) encapsulates this delicate relationship.[16] Issued in December 1733 as a depiction of 'a pleased Audience at a Theatre', Hogarth's unusual composition focuses not on the actors, but on the spectators' response to them.[17] It shares with Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain* the 'lively character of a sketchy drawing'.[18] Eschewing engraving, Hogarth etched it, in a fluid medium suited to the performativity of the print's 'theatrical' subject.[19] However, this freedom and spontaneity equally reflects the liveliness and transience of the titular laughter, which, as Joseph Addison wrote, 'slackens and unbraces the Mind, weakens the Faculties, and causes a […] Remissness and Dissolution in all the Powers of the Soul'.[20]

The print's emphasis on laughter also invokes what Addison called 'those Stage Coxcombs that are able to shake a whole Audience'; the absent stimulus to which this 'laughing

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[16] The *Laughing Audience* is less discussed than other works by Hogarth considered in this thesis, but see Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, p.65; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1970), I., cat. 130, pp.153-54; Frédéric Ogée, 'L'Œil erre: les parcours sériels de Hogarth', *Tropismes*, 5 (1991), 39-105 (p.60); Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., pp.19-20 and David Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times* (London: British Museum, 1997), cat. 27, p.88. Elizabeth Einberg discusses a possible lost oil sketch in *Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), cat. 43, p. 80; for the print as a depiction of London musical life, see Klinger, 'Music and Theater in Hogarth', 409-26 (pp.422-26).

[17] *London Journal*, Saturday 22 December, 1733, p.3. This unusual composition was seized upon in the nineteenth century, including by Honoré Daumier, George Cruikshank and Walter Sickert. Examples and discussions include Bruce Laughton, *Honoré Daumier* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.60-61 and Wendy Baron, *Sickert: Paintings and Drawings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 16-21, 27-29. Jim Davis summarises caricatural depictions of audiences after Hogarth in 'Spectatorship', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Theatre 1730-1830*, ed. Jane Moody and Danny O'Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.57-69 (pp.62-63).

[18] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, p.65.

[19] For etching versus engraving, see Benedict Leca, 'An Art Book and its Viewers: The *Recueil Crozat* and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 38:4 (Summer, 2005), 623-49 (pp.625-26).

[20] [Joseph Addison], *The Spectator*, No. 249 (Saturday 15 December, 1711), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), II., pp.465-69 (p.466).

audience' responds.[21] *The Laughing Audience* is therefore a direct address to the seductive two-part relationship between audience and actor.[22] The laughter shows that, unseen by us, the actor's 'seduction' has, largely, succeeded: mostly, these spectators 'Applaud' rather than 'Dislike' what they see. However, in focusing on laughter, Hogarth also highlights this reaction's compulsive nature; a potent emphasis since, as Steele noted, '[t]he Humour in which People go to Plays is generally that of Leisure and Indolence'.[23]

Steele's description recalls Francis Hutcheson's own characterisation of laughter, as 'tend[ing] to dispel fretfulness, anxiety, or sorrow, and to reduce the mind to an easy, happy state'.[24] Indeed, laughter is particularly apposite in discussions of the stage. Always a reaction to something else, as an involuntary expression of a strong emotion, it sits alongside weeping as a desirable response to actorly skill, reflecting William Worthen's characterisation of spectacle as acting 'immediately upon the spectator's emotional sensibility rather than on his rational moral sense'.[25] Unlike tears, however, laughter is catastrophic for the actor eliciting it unwittingly, doubly damned by its involuntary nature. It therefore encapsulates both the rewards and hazards of the actor's attempt to 'seduce' the audience. Despite this actor's technical absence from Hogarth's print, its focus on the spectator, and on laughter, underlines the importance of this attempt.

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[21] [Addison], *Spectator*, No. 47 (Tuesday 24 April, 1722), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, I., pp.200-4 (p.203).

[22] Ogée also highlights the importance of the absent spectacle in 'L'Œil erre', p.60.

[23] [Steele], *Theatre*, No. 2 (5 January, 1720), in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, pp.4-9 (p.7).

[24] Francis Hutcheson, *Reflections upon Laughter, and Remarks upon the Fable of the Bees*, rev. edn (Glasgow: Printed by R. Urie for Daniel Baxter, 1750), pp.26-27. Hutcheson's essays on laughter, first published in the *Dublin Journal* in 1725, respond to Addison's piece which in turn focused on the theory advanced by Thomas Hobbes. See R. E. Ewin, 'Hobbes on Laughter', *The Philosophical Quarterly (1950—)*, 51:202 (January, 2001), 29-40 and Elizabeth Telfer, 'Hutcheson's "Reflections Upon Laughter"',*The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 53:4 (Autumn, 1995), 359-69.

[25] Worthen, *Idea of the Actor*, pp.74, 72

This chapter approaches *The Laughing Audience* through actorly seduction and its responses. Locating those responses, as Hogarth does, in the theatre building, the context that both provides and curtails the audience's viewpoint, I suggest a little discussed text by James Ralph (?1695-1762) as a source for the etching. However, I also argue that *The Laughing Audience* responds to the aesthetic arguments of the onetime director of the French Academy, Charles Le Brun. Le Brun's discussion of physiognomy, delivered in lectures between 1668-78, sought to provide artists with a set of systematised prototypes of 'Expression', the external manifestation of 'tout ce qui cause à l'Ame de la passion'.[26] *The Laughing Audience* repeats the *Conférence*'s device of unseen stimuli in its address to dramatic seduction, bringing what had originally been intended as an artist's guide into a public forum, while also locating the seduction it implies in the theatre.

The second half of this chapter asks how theatrical 'space' is expanded through Hogarth's performative 'fop' figures, who invite viewers of *The Laughing Audience* to consider the ancient conceit of the 'theatrum mundi', the 'theatre of the world', and the potential for apparently solid theatrical divisions to break down. These figures invite comparison with Hogarth's other theatrical pictures of the 1730s. The series relating to John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (figs. 96-98) also address the relationship between audience and actor, and between viewer and mediating artist. However, it also calls specific attention to the role of gender in mediating the divisions between theatrical spaces, through the actor Lavinia Fenton.

I conclude by asking how theatrical barriers are implicated in a painting by Watteau. Apparently painted c.1713, when he was accepted to the French Academy with the similar (lost) painting *Les Jaloux*, *La Partie carrée* (fig. 103) marked a new phase in Watteau's career,

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[26] [Charles Le Brun], *Conférence de Monsieur le Brun premier peintre du Roy de France…sur l'Expression generale & particuliere* (Amsterdam; Paris: J. L. de Lorme; E. Picart, 1698), p.4.

and his arrival on the Parisian art scene as a painter of *fêtes galantes*.[27] However, it also combines the *fête galante* with theatrical costumes and characters. Its cultivated outdoor setting and the circumstances in which it was produced, are distinct from the crowded theatrical space of the sketch-like *Laughing Audience*, but the painting shares with Hogarth's etching a focus on an audience absorbed in a performer. However, the nature of the spectacle is ambiguous, reflecting the popularity of theatrical costumes and masquerade among the historical French elite, for many of whom, as Melissa Percival writes, 'life itself was a performance'.[28] Extending theatricality into the world, Watteau implies a relationship between 'actor' and 'audience' that is implicitly sexually, as well as visually, seductive.

The eighteenth-century theatre

In what would become a foundational theatrical allegory, Plato's *Republic* invites the listener to 'Picture men dwelling in a sort of subterranean cavern', fettered so as to 'remain in the same spot, able to look forward only', with shadows projected onto the wall before them.[29] Absorbed in illusion, these spectators believe that what they see is reality. However, as

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[27] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 14, pp.277-80 (p.277). For the relationship of this painting to *Les Jaloux* and the other *fêtes galantes* of this period, see Posner, *Watteau*, p.57 and Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century France* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp.51-54.

[28] Melissa Percival, *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure: Painting the Imagination* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), p.173. For European masquerade and fancy dress, see Aileen Riberio, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe, 1715-1789* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp.245-82; Sarah R. Cohen, 'Masquerade as Mode in the French Fashion Print', in *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-century Culture*, ed. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), pp.174-207.

[29] Plato, *The Republic,* trans. by Paul Shorey, 2 vols (London; Cambridge MA: William Heinemann; Harvard University Press, 1935), II., VII, pp.119-25 (p.121).

Samuel Weber highlights, this belief is predicated on their viewpoint. They are deceived not by mental or physical deficiency, but by physical position—specifically, their position within a kind of theatre, where they form the audience, and the 'shadows' the spectacle.[30] This emphasis is inherent in the history of the word 'théâtre' / 'theatre', deriving from the Greek 'thea' ('a place from which to observe or see').[31] Theatre depends on someone to act and someone to watch; someone on stage, someone in the audience. At the same time, by inviting us to 'picture' this audience, Plato calls attention to the vantage point of the listener-viewer. Looking at the audience more than the spectacle, we are apparently positioned between them.

Plato's reading of theatre resonated in later centuries.[32] When he published his alphabetised *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre* in 1698, François Maximilian Mission placed himself in a similarly ambiguous position to the *Republic*'s reader. Following, perhaps unconsciously, Plato's precedent, he focused both on the theatre as a space, and on the audience's physical position within it. Effacing the word's primary sense as a theatrical mode (a 'poëme dramatique'), he noted under 'Comédie' that English theatres were divided into sections.[33] 'Le Parterre est en Amphithéatre,' he wrote: 'Les hommes de qualité, particulierement les jeunes gens; quelques Dames sages & honnêtes; & beaucoup de Filles qui cherchent fortune, s'asseyent tous là pesle mêle; causent, joüent, badinent, écoutent,

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[30] Samuel Weber, *Theatricality as Medium* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004), p.5.

[31] Weber, *Theatricality as Medium*, p.3.

[32] See, for example, Addison's essay in No. 414 of *The Spectator* (25 June, 1712), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, III., pp. 548-53. On Plato in the eighteenth century, see Frank B. Evans, III, 'Platonic Scholarship in Eighteenth-century England', *Modern Philology*, 41:2 (November, 1943), 103-10.

[33] 'Comédie', *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1694, *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago), http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/navigate/3/3897/ [accessed 18 March 2017].

n'écoutent pas'.[34] Here, groups of people, from women who are 'sages & honnêtes' to those 'cherch[a]nt fortune', 's'asseyent' in a promiscuous mingling of social classes and apparent identities. However—in contrast to the *Republic*—the least significant of their activities is watching the stage.

Mission's description reflects two characteristics of the eighteenth-century English theatre. Its audiences were drawn from across social contexts and classes, and they themselves formed part of the experience. Indeed, rather than lighting marking a spatial distinction between audience and actors, the whole playhouse remained fully illuminated throughout performances.[35] So, while the audience gave clear 'meaning' to the action on stage, establishing it *as* theatre through their presence, that action also had to compete with issues playing out in that audience. Indeed, Lisa Freeman suggests that 'social rank was as significant an element in the experience of the theatrical space as it was in the meaning of the plays performed'.[36] Moreover, in contrast to Mission's image of mixing, issues of 'social rank' were themselves tied closely to theatrical space.[37] When describing the groups that together formed 'real Representatives of a *British* Audience', Steele mentioned, among others, members of 'the Fair Sex' to represent the 'Front-Boxes' and 'Three Substantial Citizens for the

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[34] [François Maximilian Mission], *Mémoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre…* (Paris: À la Haye, chez Henri van Bulderen, 1698), pp.63-64. For the equivalent French tradition, see John Lough, *Paris Theatre Audiences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 45-154, and, for theatrical space in France during this period, Pannill Camp, *The First Frame: Theatre Space in Enlightenment France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.30-38.

[35] See Emmett L. Avery, *The London Stage, 1700-1729: A Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), pp.xliii-xlix.

[36] Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p.4.

[37] For an example of theatrical space applied to political allegiance, see [Addison], *Spectator*, No. 81 (Saturday 2 June, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, I., pp.346-49.

Pit', formulations that connect class and personality with physical position.[38] What is important is not so much what is performed, as who is present to watch, and how they behave.

While hinging, as suggested, on the two-part interaction between actor and audience, *The Laughing Audience* also calls attention, like Mission, to the spectators' physical location within the theatre, highlighting what can and cannot be seen from the different angles within it. Most obviously, the print denies the viewer access to the stage, with the result that, like Plato's viewer, and like Misson's, we focus on the audience. However, this audience is also shown to be made up of sub-groups, distinguishable by location, social type and personality. Dominating the composition's bottom half are the figures in the pit. They are hemmed in in every way possible, crowding in Mission's 'pesle mêle', sitting almost literally on top of each other. In identifying these as the cheaper seats, Hogarth incidentally identifies the absent spectacle as a play rather than an opera, since the opera pit was the domain of the well-to-do.[39] However, this is his only address to the specifics of theatrical performance. Otherwise he, too, focuses on space.

The figures in the pit are separated from three intent bassoon players (themselves performers) by a barrier surmounted with spikes. Similarly emphatic markers separate the pit from the boxes, where two men with extended 'queues' advance, respectively, on an orange-seller and a woman taking snuff. These implicitly upper-class characters occupy almost the entire top half of the plate, representatives of a recognised eighteenth-century type, 'Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure', known for their tendency to ignore the stage.[40] As Steele wrote

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[38] [Steele], *Theatre*, No. 3, in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, p.10.

[39] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, p.65. On the social positions of audiences within the theatre, see Freeman, *Character's Theater*, pp.2-5; Avery, *London Stage*, pp.xliii-xlix and Hughes, *Drama's Patrons*.

[40] [Steele], *Theatre*, No. 3, in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, p.10.

in 1712, from the presumed perspective of the pit, they come to the playhouse 'only to shew themselves to us, without any other Purpose than to let us know they despise us'.[41]

The Laughing Audience therefore shows different social categories to occupy different areas, and amounts, of theatrical space, a stratification that reflects Hannah Greig's argument that, far from Mission's image of mingling, eighteenth-century social 'mixing' followed the principle 'all together and all distinct'.[42] It is therefore appropriate that *The Laughing Audience* shows the different members of the audience, in their different positions, to respond differently to the spectacle. The titular figures, whom John Ireland dubbed 'the children of Nature', are 'willing to be delighted, though they do not well know why'.[43] As Ireland highlighted, this reaction precedes thought, arising from aroused passions. However, the print also suggests further possible reactions, such as that of the sour-faced critic, whom Ireland considered '*affectedly unaffected*'. Unmoved, he thinks more of the cerebral 'laws of *Aristotle*' than of the impulse to be entertained. The 'Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure', by contrast, respond with a 'total inattention […] highly descriptive of that refined apathy which characterises our people of fashion and raises them above those mean passions that agitate the groundlings'.[44]

In highlighting the importance of social class to audience reaction, Hogarth offers a spectrum of responses to performance, from full engrossment, to cerebral detachment, to 'total inattention'. However, he also calls attention to the actors' attempt at appeal and attraction, here shown to have varying levels of success. These actors, the absent stimulus for the titular reaction, remain the empty referent at the print's heart. However, the specific context

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[41] [Steele], *Spectator*, No. 502 (Monday 6 October, 1712), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, IV., pp.280-83 (p.282).

[42] Hannah Greig, '"All Together and All Distinct": Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (January, 2012), 50-75.

[43] John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: J. & J. Boydell, 1812), II., p.286.

[44] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, II., p.286.

of theatrical 'seduction' suggests that they and (part of) the audience are in 'sympathy' with each other. The audience's passionate response implies that their passions have been aroused, therefore further implying the actor stirring those passions up. This sense of emotional 'sympathy' within Hogarth's print provides an additional nuance to the common observation, repeated by Aaron Hill (1685-1750) in 1724, that the stage '*is a* GLASS, *in which we see, what we, ourselves, are, by the Image of our own Actions*'.[45]

Though Hill is discussing the power of dramatic narrative, his phrasing highlights what David Marshall describes as 'an act of identification that structures the exchange of sentiments'.[46] Read this way, the laughing audience is an emotional mirror-image of the actors. However, as Steele highlighted, spectators also attend the theatre in a spirit of 'Levity and Cheerfulness […so] [t]hey do not consider, that Readiness, Alacrity, Spirit, and Disengagement from themselves, are in no one Station of Life so indispensibly [sic] necessary, as in the Duty of an accomplish'd Actor'.[47] While the actors may have aroused passions in their audience, since they also remain 'disengaged from themselves', they do not necessarily share them. In fact, as already suggested, if the response evoked is laughter, this may not even be the 'passion' they intended.

The Touchstone

While *The Laughing Audience* recalls tropes evoked by Plato, and by Mission, Hogarth's etching also has an apparently direct relationship with a more recent text. In 1728, the pseud-

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[45] Aaron Hill, *The Plain Dealer*, No. 80 (Friday 25 December, 1724), in Hill, *The Plain Dealer; being select essays on several curious subjects*, ed. William Bond, 2 vols (London: S. Richardson and A. Wilde, 1730), II., p.189.

[46] Marshall, *Surprising Effects of Sympathy*, p.100.

[47] [Steele], *Theatre*, No. 2, in *Theatre*, ed. Loftis, p.7.

onymous 'A. Primcock' published his 'Historical, Critical, Political, Moral, Philosophical and Theological Essays upon the reigning Diversions of the TOWN'. The author of this collection, entitled *The Touchstone*, was the Grub Street writer James Ralph, whose essays praising Hogarth appeared in *The Weekly Register* during the 1730s.[48] Indeed, they seem to have known each other: Elizabeth Einberg notes a portrait listed as 'Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Ralph, half length' in Ralph's death sale.[49]

Published five years before *The Laughing Audience*, *The Touchstone* included an essay on audiences that strove, in an ironic echo of Hill's phrase, to 'set the Glass of Truth full before them' and 'to bring the several Degrees that compose a regular AUDIENCE to bear upon the Parallel with the four principal Orders of Architecture'.[50] This conceit prefigures Hogarth's own *Five Orders of Periwigs* (1761), and though that engraving arose from a different set of circumstances, the similarity of its joke suggests at least that Ralph's description would have appealed to Hogarth's sense of humour.[51]

The Touchstone describes the 'pit' noted by Mission as 'supported […by] some of our most substantial, plain, sober Tradesmen, their Wives and Children, in the *Dorick* Stile', re-

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[48] *Weekly Register*, No. 112 (3 June, 1732), p.1; *Weekly Register*, No. 216 (27 April, 1734), p.1.

[49] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 241, p.360. The sale took place at Langford's, 21-22 April 1762; the portrait was lot 51. On Ralph, see James Ralph and Robert W. Kenny, 'James Ralph: An Eighteenth-century Philadelphian in Grub Street', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 64:2 (April, 1940), 218-42; Martin C. Battestin with Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London; New York: Routledge, 1989), pp.82-83, 86-87; John B. Shipley, 'Ralph, Ellys, Hogarth and Fielding: The Cabal Against Jacopo Amigoni', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 1:4 (Summer, 1968), 313-31 and W. B. Coley and John B. Shipley, 'Fielding and the "Cabal" Against Amigoni: A Rebuttal', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 2:3 (Spring, 1969), 303-11.

[50] A. Primcock [James Ralph], 'Essay V: Of Audiences', in *The Touchstone: or, Historical, Critical, Political, Moral, Philosophical and Theological Essays upon the reigning Diversions of the Town* (London: Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1728), pp.137-38.

[51] The *Periwigs* are usually read as a response to James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated*, 3 vols (London: Printed by John Haberkorn, 1762), I., t.p.; see Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 208, pp.243-44 (p.244) and *Hogarth*, III., pp.349-51.

peating the theme, and even (implicitly) the metaphor of Steele's 'substantial Citizens', where 'substantial', like the Doric style, implies stoutness and solidity.[52] The Corinthian is represented by the pit and side-boxes, upon whose 'Natives', Ralph says, '[w]e look upon […] as so many small Divinities; the Ladies, from the Lustre of their Jewels; […] the Men from the Fame of their Places, Titles and Fortunes'.[53] Rather than remaining firmly in their place, '[t]he young [male] Plants' of the Doric tribe aspire to equivalent divinity, 'to imitate the exterior Signs of a smart, rakish Gentility'. To these men, for whom 'nothing is so fashionable as to be noisy', Ralph recommends 'to leave off talking Bawdy to the Orange-Women', foreshadowing Hogarth's own rakish figures and calling attention to an intersection between dramatic and sexual seduction that I return to below.[54]

Ralph's description of audiences as architecture reflects the tendency I have highlighted to imagine the theatre as a space, with architectural features, rather than a dramatic mode. The different segments of society are still imaginatively assigned to their own sections of that space. However, this time they are also assigned to an answering decorative order. The 'theatrum mundi' conceit recalls the *Republic*, but is here explicitly sub-divided into a sequence of social types, each having 'a Part allotted to him'.[55] As a result, once again, class dictates both one's position in the theatre, and the potentially circumscribed situation from which one sees. Nonetheless, the audience remain the 'primum mobile' of the theatrical event, the dominant figures in the seductive relationship, 'by whose Generosity [the actors]

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[52] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], "substantial, adj., n., and adv.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/193050?redirectedFrom=substantial#eid [accessed March 02, 2018].

[53] [Ralph], *Touchstone*, p.143.

[54] [Ralph], *Touchstone*, p.140.

[55] [Addison], *The Spectator*, No. 219 (Saturday 10 November, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, II., pp.351-54 (p. 353).

are supported, and by whose Smiles, or Frowns, they flourish or languish'.[56] In 'set[ting] the Glass of Truth' before them, Ralph, like Hogarth after him, removes half of that relationship, inviting the audience (and, implicitly, his reader) to survey themselves instead.

Though turning the 'glass' on the audience was not original, Ralph developed the conceit across an essay whose length and detail must have caught Hogarth's attention. This, combined with the resonances between his imagery and Hogarth's, suggests that the artist looked to the writer when conceiving his own 'mirror' to an audience. However, *The Laughing Audience* specifically calls attention to the visual artist's role in mediating his viewer's imaginative journey, much as *Before* and *After* (discussed in Chapter Two) represent him as a governing impresario. The print's spatial demarcations are navigable by following the line from the oboe players at the bottom left up the arm of the second orange seller as she reaches up to the boxes. This line divides up the audience, and guides the viewer 'through' the composition, from vantage point to vantage point, social type to social type. In contrast to the individual perspectives within the print, Hogarth's viewer is invited to survey the whole class spectrum—and to do so in a visual medium, offering a more literal 'mirroring' than Ralph's literary text could do.[57]

However, Hogarth also makes his viewer aware of the limits of what he offers. The hints of theatrical architecture at the left-hand side of the print remind us of the stage, just out of eyeshot. What we cannot see, this audience can, and vice versa. A similar effect is created at the right-hand side by the abrupt appearance of the plate edge, partially cropping the figures touching it. If *The Laughing Audience* represents a seductive dialogue between specta-

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[56] [Ralph], *Touchstone*, p.137.

[57] For this trope, see Helena Goscilo, 'The Mirror in Art: Vanitas, Veritas, and Vision', *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature*, 34:2 (Summer, 2010), 282-319.

tor and unseen spectacle, a similar interaction is implied between artist and viewer. Like the audience, our viewpoint depends on our vantage point; the artist mediates both.

This reflects the material context of the print, which is not, technically, a self-contained artwork, like the *Harlot*, but rather a referent to another artwork again. Advertised as a subscription ticket for *Southwark Fair* and *A Rake's Progress* (1735), the former also explicitly theatrical, the etching was issued in acknowledgment for 'half a Guinea' received in part-payment for these prints, and therefore stands alongside Hogarth's shop-card as an engraving with a specific commercial purpose.[58] The *Fair,* Hogarth promised, would be delivered to subscribers immediately, but the *Rake*, though to be finished 'with all convenient Speed', was as-yet unseen. *A Rake's Progress* therefore implicitly occupies the space of the *Audience*'s likewise unseen, yet enticingly entertaining spectacle.[59] However, Hogarth suggests that these identifications—subscribers as audience; prints as spectacle—might be upended. His handwritten annotation to the etching's first state promises to deliver *Southwark Fair* to subscribers 'at Sight of this receipt', a playful hint that the artist, or actor, may yet look back on the audience and that, much as with the interaction between shopper and shopkeeper discussed in Chapter Four, these roles are always subject to fluctuation.[60]

Four Groups of Heads

In 1736-7 Hogarth stripped *The Laughing Audience* of its receipt and re-sold it, along with the earlier *A Chorus of Singers* (1732-37) and the newer *Company of Undertakers* (1736-37) and

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[58] *London Journal*, December 1733, p.3. For the *Rake* as a theatrical subject, see Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., pp. 18, 20-21 and Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997), pp.236-59.

[59] Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, cat. 27, p.88.

[60] On the publication history of this engraving, see Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 130, pp.153-54.

S*cholars at a Lecture* (1736-37) (figs. 86–88) as the collection *Four Groups of Heads*.[61] The print was thereby retrospectively linked to Hogarth's career-long interest in 'heads', also explored, less satirically, in the late *Heads of Six of Hogarth's Servants* (fig. 89). Paulson links this project with Hogarth's interest in caricature, and with Arthur Pond's (c.1705-58) prints of 1736-42 after Italian examples, which Hogarth later adapted for the first plate illustrating *The Analysis of Beauty*.[62] Like Pond, Hogarth could also have drawn from earlier caricatures such as the publications after originals attributed to Leonardo da Vinci overseen by the comte de Caylus (1727) and Pierre-Jean Mariette (1730).[63]

Nonetheless, Hogarth's *Heads* differ from these precedents: each group responds to something else. Paulson summarises: '[i]n *A Chorus of Singers* Hogarth juxtaposes the singers with their words, in *The Laughing Audience* the audience with the play, and in *Scholars at a Lecture* the scholars with their vacuous text'.[64] He reads this, with little clarification, as a 'statement about art'. However, it means that all the *Heads* demonstrate the physiognomic effects of reactions, and therefore of interactions between stimulus and response—a similar seductive encounter to the relationship between actor and audience. Their crowded, stratified compositions all also suggest a drive to systematise less at issue in the Italian prototypes.

Without disputing the connection with Renaissance caricature, I therefore suggest that the *Heads* should also be seen in relation to another precedent: the similarly 'systematised' project of Charles Le Brun, whose *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* had

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[61] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., p.154.

[62] Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., p.122; William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson ([1753] New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), p.147, fn1. For Pond's caricatures, see Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: the Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp.130-34.

[63] Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., p.122. For the projects of Caylus and Mariette, see Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p.24 and Kate T. Steinitz, *Pierre-Jean Mariette and Le Comte de Caylus and their Conception of Leonardo da Vinci in the Eighteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Zeitlin & Ver Brugge, 1974), pp.8-13.

[64] Paulson, *Hogarth*, II. p.123.

sought to establish prototypical facial expressions along scientific principles.[65] Bernard Picart's 1698 edition of Le Brun's transcribed text, *Les Expressions des passions de l'âme*, was translated into English in 1701, and this is the edition of which Hogarth was probably thinking when, in the *Analysis*, he described 'Le Brun's passions of the mind' as 'the common drawing-book […] for the use of learners'.[66] This comment establishes Hogarth's own familiarity with the text, but also the translation's enduring success in England, where it had aimed to 'direct our young Painters in the right way'.[67]

Drawing on René Descartes (1596-1650), who had described the 'inner workings' of the passions, as well as on an array of earlier texts on physiognomy, Le Brun's *Conférence* sought to illustrate the passions' external manifestation for the benefit of artists, since 'for the most part, whatsoever causes Passion in the Soul, makes some Action in the Body'.[68] Intended primarily as prototypical illustrations, Le Brun's 'Passions' nevertheless occupy a similar position to Hogarth's later *Heads*: they show a passion to be the result of a previous cause, just as Hogarth's audience's laughter responds to an unseen actor. They are also presented as involuntary reactions; automatic, rather than considered—though, paradoxically, they come to us in the form of a systematised set of illustrations. Moreover, Le Brun's major deviation from previous writings on physiognomy was to focus exclusively on the face and head. Melissa Percival considers this change 'largely responsible' for shifts in early eighteenth-cen-

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[65] On Le Brun's *Conférence* and its influence, see Montagu, *Expression of Passions*, esp. pp.9-26 and Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-century France* (London: W. S. Maney & Son, 1999), pp.41-63.

[66] Hogarth, *Analysis*, pp.96-97. For Hogarth and the *Conférence*, see also Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.356, 34n and Percival, *Appearance*, pp.33-35.

[67] John Smith 'Dedication', in Charles Le Brun, *The Conférence of Monsieur Le Brun Cheif Painter to the French King…*, trans. John Smith (London: Printed for John Smith, 1701), n.p.

[68] Montagu, *Expression of Passions*, pp.7, 17; Le Brun, *Conférence*, trans. Smith, p.2.

tury artistic training.[69] However, it also signals an important distinction from the caricatural precedents Paulson highlights, and one that is thematically similar to Hogarth's project. Moreover, in addition to the impact on artists suggested by Hogarth's casual reference in the *Analysis*, the *Conférence* had also been influential in theatres, providing 'a modern body of visual literature on which the actor could draw' when representing the passions, part of an eighteenth-century trend for dramatic 'manuals'.[70] It is therefore striking that *The Laughing Audience*, chronologically among the first, with the *Singers*, of the *Group of Heads*, should also start from a dramatic subject, especially since, unlike the later prints, it focuses on examples of expression, not simple pathognomy.

Both circumstances align the *Heads*, and *The Laughing Audience* particularly, more closely with Le Brun's address to the 'Passions' than with the caricatural tradition. Meanwhile, *The Laughing Audience*'s theatrical context reminds the viewer that the actor, like the artist, may adapt the lessons of the *Conférence* in evoking a passion they do not necessarily feel. However, when the actor is successful, the audience's response to those passions is genuine, an involuntary reaction to a considered attempt at actorly 'seduction'. In implicitly juxtaposing the two, *The Laughing Audience* highlights the distinction between the deceptive exterior passions of the actor-seducer, and the genuine responses they elicit.

If Hogarth had Le Brun in mind, the *Conférence* offered a point of reference for *The Laughing Audience*: *Le Ris* (fig. 90) was reproduced in an engraving by Jean Audran to accompany the 1727 Paris edition of *Les Expressions des passions*, and, in the 1698 edition later translated into English, as a drawing by Bernard Picart (fig. 91).[71] Hogarth's reference in the

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[69] Copying prototypical heads became essential to eighteenth-century artistic training. See Percival, *Appearance*, pp.50, 58-60.

[70] Roach, *Player's Passion*, p.67. See also Percival, *Appearance*, pp.131-58.

[71] Paulson suggests this second edition as the most likely connection between Hogarth and Le Brun, *Hogarth*, I., p.356, 34n.

Analysis to Le Brun's illustrations being 'distinctly marked with lines only, the shadows being omitted' indicates that his primary familiarity was with Picart's illustrations.[72] However, both separate the faces from their contexts, underlining the putative universality of the illustrated expression, intended by Le Brun as a prototype (itself a type of stimulus) to which artists could respond.[73] Picart takes this to its logical conclusion, showing a face with no gender, age or context. The lack of additional elements reflects the print itself. Like Hogarth's *Audience*, this figure responds with pleasure to an unseen stimulus, so that the viewer is again denied the object of their amusement—although there is even a teasing suggestion that we might be it.

However, Le Brun did not discuss 'Le Ris' in detail. The obvious explanation is that he wanted to focus on the loftier passions of history painting. At the same time, as Jennifer Montagu has argued, Le Brun's challenge was the transience of facial expressions, a quality that, as suggested, 'laughter' illustrates particularly well.[74] '[I]f he wishes to show a pendulum in motion,' Montagu writes, the artist 'should choose any position other than the vertical; similarly, if he wants to show a body in movement, he should select a moment which the observer recognises as one that cannot last'.[75] All of the faces illustrated in the *Conférence* suffer from some rigidity, but the particular challenge of laughter's inherent mobility may explain Le Brun's lack of textual engagement with it. Convincing expressions are also a problem of time and motion, which Le Brun could not completely resolve.

By contrast, Hogarth refigures the 'Passions' in an explicitly theatrical context, and as a fluid, lively etching, rather than a prototypical engraving. *The Laughing Audience* do not re-

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[72] Hogarth, *Analysis*, p.97.

[73] Montagu, *Expression of Passions*, p.19.

[74] Montagu, *Expression of Passions*, p.3.

[75] Montagu, *Expression of Passions*, p.3.

act to their absent stimulus as an actor might, with careful, systematised movements of the the face, conceived for maximum legibility by an always-imagined viewer. Their responses are natural, individual and, in consequence, varied. Hogarth therefore extends, and ironically responds to, Le Brun's project. Instead of showing one expression, he offers ten, each unique. His teasing composition also calls ironic attention to the absence of stimulus provoking Le Brun's figures. Like them, the members of *The Laughing Audience* are laughing at something the viewers cannot see, a circumstance that underlines the call-and-response already inherent to the *Conférence*—but the relationship of action and reaction is now rooted specifically in the theatre. It thereby highlights Le Brun's implicit address to seduction; the relationship between stimulus and response is refigured as the actor's attempt to evoke a genuine passion through an artificial one.

The *Four Groups of Heads* follow Picart's engravings' anonymity insofar as they conceal the bodies the heads are attached to. In *Scholars* and *Undertakers,* this is achieved by a dense configuration of characters, while, in *Musicians* and *The Laughing Audience*, the faces are outlined with dense black ink. However, Hogarth's *Heads* are surmounted by signs of their professions and status: wigs, dominant in all four plates, reach ludicrous proportions in *Undertakers*; the scholars wear large mortar boards; *The Laughing Audience* clutch handkerchiefs, fans and hoods. These details complicate Le Brun's 'prototypical' facial expressions, focusing on external factors—class, gender, profession—manifested through what an actor might call costumes or props. Rather than emphasising the quasi-automatic reaction of any generalised body to a stimulus on the mind, Hogarth therefore calls attention both to a range of possible responses, and to the contexts upon which they depend. This includes both the spatial, perspectival issues highlighted above, and the subject of the next section: how the subjects represent themselves.

Hogarth's fops

While all of Hogarth's *Heads* zoom in on what Elizabeth Einberg calls 'categorising accumulations', *The Laughing Audience* is a stratified image, in which the 'heads' are only one part.[76] More than the others, it shows a range of social types. Again, this recalls Ralph. In alluding to the Doric and Corinthian, *The Touchstone* highlights decorative, as well as spatial, distinctions. Rather than being what they 'are', the 'young Plants' are 'imitators' seeking the 'exterior Signs' (not the inward truth) 'of a smart, rakish Gentility'. Their artificiality, like their inattention, contrasts with the stolidly middle-class, genially amused 'Doric'. However, as Hogarth's engraving highlights, the inhabitants of the pit also hold social 'props'—fans, handkerchiefs and wigs—'form[s] of self-enactment' that, while ostensibly humble, also signal their desire, as Marcia Pointon puts it, 'to lay claim to the exclusive and to follow the herd'.[77] The 'young Plants' are therefore merely the most complete example of a performativity pervading this audience.

In *The Laughing Audience*, the equivalents of the 'young Plants' are the men stalking the side-boxes. They occupy a different spatial and narrative plane from their counterparts in the pit. Physically set apart, they ignore the actors whom the laughing figures enjoy, their cultivated mien a showy contrast to the 'children of nature' in the pit, whose own 'exterior signs' are, apparently, passionate manifestations of interior feeling. This contrast complicates Freeman's suggestion that the eighteenth-century theatre was 'obsessed not with the tensions between interiority and exteriority, but with the conflicting meaning of surfaces in themselves'. Theatre depended on 'public exteriors' as 'the *only* basis upon which judgements

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[76] Elizabeth Einberg, *Hogarth the Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997), cat. 28, p.50.

[77] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.113. See also pp.112-31 for the wig generally, and a discussion of Hogarth's *Five Orders of Periwigs*.

about character could be formed', since, rather than an 'emanation of a stable identity', character itself was 'the unstable product of staged contests between interpretable surfaces'.[78] *The Laughing Audience* shows such judgements about character to depend on the exterior manifestation of an implicit interiority, natural or artificial. This is underscored by Hogarth's oblique reference to Le Brun, which contrasts pre-meditated, practised manifestations of interior passions with involuntary, natural ones—where only the latter, with its implication of quick, almost automatic response, is evidence of a successful seduction.

At the same time, in addition to their pointedly artificial demeanour, which calls attention to social performance, Hogarth's elaborately dressed young men are themselves would-be seducers of a practical kind. Like his precedent in *The Touchstone*, the figure on the left is 'talking Bawdy' to an orange woman; his companion addresses a lady taking snuff. Their elaborate postures, and their 'purse wigs', typical of French Regency style, hint that they draw upon French culture.[79] Though recognisable, generically, as French, or Francophile, they may have a specific source in the seducers from Jean-François de Troy's *tableaux de modes* of the 1720s. At their exhibition in the Salon of 1725, De Troy's pendants *The Declaration of Love* and *The Garter* (figs. 92-93), both scenes of seduction, were described as 'très-galands', with the implication of the 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*'s 'Un homme qui cherche à plaire aux Dames'.[80] Both the works themselves and the men within them were therefore identified as (would-be) seducers.

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[78] Freeman, *Character's Theater*, pp.27, 26.

[79] Colin B. Bailey, Philip Conisbee and others, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), cat. 23, p.164.

[80] 'Exposition des Tableaux', *Mercure de France*, September 1725, p.2257; 'galant', n., *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1694, *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago), http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=galant&start=0&end=0 [accessed 4 April 2017].

These pendants are often cited as an influence on Hogarth, and particularly on the ostensibly French-inspired *Before* and *After* (discussed in Chapter Two).[81] Hogarth's images are indeed so reminiscent of De Troy that a link does seem probable. However, Frederick Antal's usually-cited assertion that he would have known these specific pendants through engravings in the collection of Richard Mead is not substantiated by Mead's death sale, which lists no such prints.[82] Moreover, the earliest engraving after any of De Troy's 'tableaux de modes' reproduces neither *The Declaration* nor *The Garter* (not engraved until mid-century), but instead *The Alarm* (fig. 94), engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin *père* (1688-1754) in 1727.[83] This, rather than *The Garter* and its pendant, therefore seems the likeliest source for the *beaux*, and probably for *Before* and *After* too.[84] While working chronologically, it also resonates thematically. The setting evokes the *fête galante* tradition I suggested as a context for the Fitzwilliam *Before* and *After*, and its subject—a maid warning lovers of someone approaching—highlights the interplay between absorption and distraction that form the substantive subject of *The Laughing Audience*.

If Hogarth intended a reference to De Troy in *The Laughing Audience*, as translated, these seducers are distinctly unimpressive. Though recalling De Troy's elegant 'galands', these figures have none of their cognates' physical advantages, and indeed seem closer to the

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[81] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, pp.95, 171-2; Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.90-91; Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. nos. 39-40, pp.78-80 (p.79).

[82] Both Einberg and Simon reference Antal as their source for Hogarth's knowledge of De Troy; a French example is Jean-Luc Bordeaux, 'Jean-François de Troy. Still an Artistic Enigma: Some Observations on his Early Work', *Artibus et Historiae,* 10:20 (1989), 143-169 (p.167). Chapter Six details Mead's background and art world connections.

[83] Christophe Leribault, *Jean-François de Troy (1679-1752)* (Paris: Arthena, 2002), pp.195-99.

[84] This said, a copy of *Pied-de-Bouef* now in London's National Gallery apparently derives from Cochin's engraving of it from c.1735, perhaps implying painted pastiches of other De Troy paintings on the early eighteenth-century market. For this painting, see Martin Davies, *French School* (London: National Gallery, 1946), cat. 2216, p.35.

satiric English tradition of the French, or Francophile fop, or 'beau'. Partly a Restoration remnant, 'an anxious satire on the feared alignment of the Stuart and French courts', this figure arose from a popular perception of the French as 'exterior' and artificial, focused on decoration over substance.[85] This is traceable in the original context: expounding the aristocratic behaviour model of *honnêteté*, to which De Troy's young men apparently subscribe, Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Mére (1607-84) advised that it was crucial 'à connoître en toutes les choses, les meilleurs moyens de plaire, & de les sçavoir pratiquer' a recommendation that might equally apply to the actor and the self-effacing shopkeeper, and which, in either case, expounds 'the gap between paraître and être', which Donma Stanton calls 'the central and most obsessive problem' for *honnêteté*'s theorists.[86]

Indeed, for many in England who considered the French 'a naturally subservient people concerned with their own pleasures', such men might have displayed outward splendour, but, like Ralph's 'young Plants', this was only seeking to conceal their true poverty and enslavement.[87] They, and the (English) fop who idolised them, were therefore castigated for similar faults to those of the actor. Like actors, French(ified) fops were devoted to

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[85] Thomas A. King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750*, 2 vols (Madison, WN: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), I., p.232.

[86] Antoine Gombaud Méré, *Lettres de Monsieur le chevalier de Méré*, 2 vols (Paris: D Thierry et C Barbin, 1682), I., pp.55-56; Donma C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the Honnête Homme and the Dandy in Seventeenth and Nineteenth-century French Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p.187. For the *honnête homme*, see also Jacques G. Benay, 'L'Honnête Homme devant la Nature, ou la philosophie du Chevalier de Méré', *PMLA*, 79: 1 (March, 1964), 22-32; Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.83-103; Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. pp.54-72 and Orest Ranum, 'Absolutism and the Rise of the French State, 1630-1660', *The Journal of Modern History*, 52:3 (September 1980), 426-51. For a discussion of the analogous tradition of 'courtesy' in England, see Michael Curtin, 'A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy', *The Journal of Modern History*, 57:3 (September, 1985), 395-423.

[87] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print 1600-1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p.35.

surface and show—exterior, would-be seductive signs—but were ultimately vacuous, with none of the Shaftesburian 'inwardness' prized by middle-class Addisonian man.[88] As Addison himself put it, in his satiric 'Dissection of a Beau's Head', the beau had one brain cavity 'filled with Ribbons, Lace and Embroidery', and another 'with Fictions, Flatteries and Falsehoods, Vows, Promises and Protestations'.[89] Others had interiority; fops obsessed over exteriors.

In theatrical contexts, the fop's exteriority could even lead to appropriating the actor's own role. The year before Addison's 1712 'Dissection', a letter to *The Spectator* signed by 'Charles Easy', an occupant of the pit, drew attention to the fop's desire to perform. 'Easy' describes witnessing in the theatre 'a sort of Beau, who getting into one of the Side-Boxes on the Stage before the Curtain drew […] took Snuff with a tolerable good Grace, display'd his fine Cloaths, made two or three feint Passes at the Curtain with his Cane, then faced about and appear'd at t'other Door'.[90] He implicitly contrasts such ostentation with the 'natural', unselfconscious behaviour of the rest of polite society.[91]

'Easy's' contrast is similar to the one later invoked by Ralph. He distinguishes between what Ralph was to call the 'Doric' tribe—those who want to watch the play—and those who aim to be disruptive, drawing attention onto themselves. However, as well as drawing the contrast along class lines, in naming the source of offence as a 'Beau', this writer implicitly indicates a divide of nationality, or national affinity. Though not necessarily a genuine member of the upper classes, or a genuine Frenchman, the 'Beau' is marked by his desire to distinguish

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[88] King, *Gendering of Men*, I., p.228. For Shaftesbury and the problem of theatre, see David Marshall, *The Figure of Theater: Shaftesbury, Defoe, Adam Smith, and George Eliot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.9-70.

[89] [Addison], *Spectator*, No. 275, Tuesday 15 January, 1712, in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, II., pp.570-73 (p.571).

[90] [Steele], *Spectator*, No. 240 (Wednesday 5 December, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, II., pp.432-35 (p.434).

[91] This idea is discussed by King, *Gendering of Men*, I., pp.168-70.

himself from the middling sort by appropriating the trappings of the upper classes, and a specifically Gallic masculine seductiveness. Once in the theatre, driven by these twin impulses to perform, this showy figure even threatens to supplant the literal actor onstage.

Ironically, given the fop's attempted appropriation of the actor's role, his fashionable excesses, exteriority and satiric relevance also made him an ideal vehicle for actual actors, especially in the comedies performed on British stages at the time of *The Laughing Audience*.[92] He was therefore placed literally in the theatrical context in which he was already imagined metaphorically. Notable theatrical fops on English stages during this period include Sir Fopling Flutter and Sir Novelty Fashion, from George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676) and Colley Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* (1695-96) respectively, and Sir Philip Modelove from Susanna Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for Wife*, (1718).[93] 'Modelove's name indicates these figures' shared devotion to fashion ('mode'), and, as this French loan suggests, this was a characteristic explicitly linked with 'Frenchness' and cultural devotion to France.[94] 'Your Vivacity and *Jantée* Mien assured me at first sight there was nothing of this foggy Island in your Composition' is

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[92] For a summary of London theatre performances during this period, see *The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces…*, ed. William van Lennep, William, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten, George Winchester Stone and Charles Beecher Hogan, 11 vols (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-63), III. and IV.

[93] For example, *The Man of Mode* was performed once in the 1729-30 season, three times in the 1730-31 season, and four times in both the 1731-32 and 1732-33 seasons; *Love's Last Shift* saw five performances in 1729-30, six in 1730-11, five in 1731-32 and three in 1732-33. Performances are listed in *London Stage*, ed. Scouten, III., 1:24, 48, 96, 107, 134, 171, 180, 197, 207, 248, 262, 265, 288 for *Man of Mode*, and, for *Love's Last Shift*, 16, 47, 50, 54, 57, 86, 102, 111, 130, 138, 148, 167, 183, 188, 204, 227, 252, 282, 295.

[94] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online] "mode, n.", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/120575?rskey=kPBuo6&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid [accessed May 15, 2018], II., 7a, 8a. For *Marriage à la Mode* as anti-French, see Robert S. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode: A Re-View of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp.30-31, 92-93.

Modelove's approving conclusion on meeting the disguised Colonel 'La' Fainwell, whom he immediately identifies as 'positively *French* by his dancing Air'.[95]

This makes the beaux's presence in *The Laughing Audience* particularly potent, especially if we are also expected to see De Troy's seductive 'gallants' in them. Though the etching is ostensibly 'about' theatre spectators, their presence and compositional dominance suggests that Hogarth considered French-inspired masculine performativity, and exterior-driven 'seductiveness' at least as important to his print's address to theatre as the figures in the pit. In this context, the beaux's 'seduction' is imagined as both their practical, De Troy-inflected attempts at sexual conquest, and their nebulous, stereotypical focus on 'exterior Signs'—clothing and gallant *mien*—which refuse engagement with those around them to demonstrate 'the spectacle of themselves'.[96]

Like the print's unseen actor, who must both entertain and convince his audience, the foppish beau eschews interiority, attempting to 'seduce' everyone around him on multiple levels simultaneously. By contrast, though they partake of their own kind of bourgeois performativity, the exteriority of the figures in the pit is primarily manifested as a claim to *interiority*. This is reflected in their laughter, which implies an involuntary response to the spectacle borne of genuine feeling; a reaction arising, as Hutcheson put it, 'in the natural manner, from some perception in the mind of something ludicrous', and therefore an indication of their 'inwardness'.[97]

The *beaux*'s artificiality, and separation from the bourgeois masculine ideal, links them imaginatively with the print series to which Hogarth's plate ultimately refers. Also

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[95] Susanna Centlivre, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, ed. Nancy Copeland (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995), II.i, ll.76-78, p.65, ll.10-11, p.62.

[96] King, *Gendering of Men*, I., p.229.

[97] Hutcheson, *Reflections upon Laughter*, p.26.

wearing a purse-wig reminiscent of De Troy, the similarly French(ified) dancing master of the second plate of *A Rake's Progress* (fig. 95) offers the bourgeois Tom Rakewell the chance to discipline his comportment and gestures to make them more fashionable—by implication, more French.[98] Read through the *Rake*—to which *The Laughing Audience*'s purchasers would have come after a short delay—we might therefore consider the beaux in the etching as Ralph's 'young Plants', bourgeois aspirants, rather than aristocrats. With their social status obscured, perhaps only temporarily, they raise similar issues of show and substance to those prompted by the figure of Mother Needham, discussed in Chapter Three. Like the bawd, they recall Richard Sennett's characterisation of cities as 'having changed the basic terms of the age-old imagery of *theatrum mundi*', allowing appearances to be manipulated, and making the clothed body and its signifying potential 'an amusing toy to play with'.[99] Indeed, Thomas King considers this the fop's crucial threat: his 'emulative consumption […] threatened the very specificity of the courtly bodies he emulated, dispersing consumption from its centralized location and across the gentry'.[100] Hogarth's figures ape fashions and deportment within the *theatrum mundi*. Whether they do so as upper-class Francophiles, or as pretenders to that title, is for the viewer to decide. In either case, they allude to a specific context of Gallic 'seduction' and French masculine eroticism.

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[98] Joseph R. Roach, 'Power's Body: The Inscription of Morality as Style', in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance*, ed. Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1989), pp.99-118. For a discussion of the related figure of the French dancing-master in the *Analysis*, see King, *Gendering of Men*, II., pp.69-79, and for perceptions of the dancing-master, Jennifer Thorp, '"Borrowed Grandeur and Affected Grace": Perceptions of the Dancing-Master in Early Eighteenth-century England', *Music in Art*, 36:1/2 (Spring - Fall, 2011), 9-27.

[99] Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1978), pp.64-65. On fashion as mass-market preoccupation, see Neil McKendrick, 'The Commercialization of Fashion', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society; the Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, ed. McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982), pp.34-99.

[100] King, *Gendering of Men*, I., p.233.

Hogarth's figures are apparently too preoccupied to approach the stage like the equivalent figure complained of by 'Charles Easy'. Even so, their prominence in *The Laughing Audience* highlights the fluidity between different theatrical 'performances'. The context of dramatic fops makes this particularly remarkable: as embodied on stage by actors, characters like Sir Philip Modelove invited an imaginative connection between the *beaux* in the audience and the 'legitimate' actors from whose performance they might detract. Fops could perform both on stage and in the auditorium, as both actors and audience. As a result, the ostensibly clear spatial divisions I have highlighted—between those who perform and those who watch—could quickly become ambiguous.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Ireland revisited Hogarth's *beaux*. However, this time, his focus was not on nationality, but on gender. Describing the figure on the right as 'press[ing] *its* left hand upon *its* breast', he characterised them as gender-ambiguous.[101] This reflects the later eighteenth century's more urgent concern with the fop's sexuality: the sense that their seductions were primarily between themselves.[102] However, it also repeats the metaphor which Ralph had used, when addressing 'fluidity' within the theatrical space. Ralph had described:

> a Species of Animals […] whom I look upon as the *Hermaphrodites* of the Theatre; being neither Auditors nor Actors perfectly, and imperfectly both; I mean those Gentlemen who pass their Evenings behind the Scenes, and who are so busy in neglecting the *Entertainment,* that they obstruct the View of the AUDIENCE in the just Discernment of the Representation; and are a prodigious Hindrance to the Actors.[103]

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[101] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, II., p.285.

[102] King, *Gendering of Men*, I., p.229-30.

[103] [Ralph], *Touchstone*, p.145.

This alludes to the custom, common in both France and England, of allowing aristocratic men to sit on the stage, leaving no 'fourth wall' between the stage and the audience.[104] Ralph describes watching a play 'when Tupees and Feathers make up part of a *Turkish* Emperour's Train; and a fring'd Wastcoat or clock'd Stockings, are taken for the Dress of a *Grecian* or *Roman* Heroe'.[105] His sense that theatre's illusory quality was thereby shattered was much echoed in France, for example by Charles Collé (1709-83), who recorded with relief that, as of 1759, 'on ne souffrira plus personne' on the stage of the Comédie-Française, and, as a result; 'L'illusion théâtrale est actuellement entière; on ne voit plus César prêt à dépoudrer un fat assis sur le premier rang du théâtre, et Mithridate expirer au milieu de tous gens de notre connaissance'.[106] The equivalent Drury Lane reforms of Hogarth's friend David Garrick (1717-79) took longer, but English audiences had apparently left the stage by 1763.[107]

As this suggests, despite the ostensibly clearly demarcated spatial relationships highlighted in *The Laughing Audience*, the divisions between actor and audience, and between the architectural frame holding the theatrical illusion and the world beyond, were open to slippage. Indeed, Freeman argues that the eighteenth-century stage 'highlighted its contrivances and celebrated the process of being watched'.[108] These slippages could result from showily recalcitrant members of the audience. However, as Ralph highlights, they were also facilitated by the theatre space itself. 'Charles Easy's' complaint partially arose from the beau's ability to mount the stage in the first place and, indeed, audiences often had to be physically restrained to avoid incidents such as the one reported in the *Weekly Journal* for October 1718,

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[104] For the 'fourth wall' in relation to both Diderot and Bertolt Brecht, see Von Held, *Alienation and Theatricality*.

[105] [Ralph], *Touchstone*, p.145.

[106] Charles Collé, *Journal et mémoires de Charles Collé*, ed. Honoré Bonhomme, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1868), II., p. 172.

[107] Hughes, *Drama's Patrons*, pp.21-26.

[108] Freeman, *Character's Theater*, p. 17.

when 'three Gentlemen demanded to go behind the Scenes' and, upon being refused, 'went into the Pit, and with Apples, &c. pelted the Players in a shameful Manner, after which they got upon the Stage and drew their Swords and broke down the Sconces, Lamps, &c'.[109] Figures like 'Easy's' beau, and these 'Gentlemen', broke down the order of theatrical space, the violence of the second example being by no means uncommon.[110]

For Ralph, these 'Hermaphrodite' figures call attention to 'gender' in the now-obsolete sense of 'a class of things'—or, indeed, in his formulation, 'a Species', recalling Hogarth's (and perhaps Le Brun's) 'categorising' heads.[111] Class might be marked through situational position, and so could gender, or 'species', and Ralph positions these 'Hermaphrodites' consistently *between* the two central theatrical identities: 'Auditors' and 'Actors'. Hogarth puts his viewer in a similar position. The series of spikes at his print's bottom left imply a 'fourth wall', but also suggest the potential insurgency of the titular spectators, and the permeability of the artificial barriers holding them. At the same time, the fact that we can see so much of this cordon suggests that we are behind it, and therefore in the most generically confusing place in the theatre. Our perspective on the audience suggests we are on (or just off)stage, but the side-on composition, which is impossible when combined with the angle of the spiked cordon, implies that we are off to the side of that stage. Neither actors, nor audience, we are positioned parallel to the ambiguous, seductive, characters in the side-boxes, of whose actions we have the kind of full-frontal view expected of the stage from the theatre.

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[109] *Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post*, Saturday 11 October, 1718, p.3.

[110] For a list of London theatrical riots between 1730-80, see Richard Gorrie, 'Gentle Riots? Theatre Riots in London, 1730-1780' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Guelph, 2000), Appendix, pp.334-35.

[111] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online] "gender, n.", 2a, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/77468?rskey=Zm7o6F&result=1&isAdvanced=false [accessed March 21, 2017].

The Beggar's Opera

The Laughing Audience dates from a period when Hogarth was actively exploring the ambiguities of audience-actor relationships. In addition to the small subscription ticket, he also created at least six larger-scale easel paintings showing a performance of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, which premiered at Lincoln's Inn Theatre in 1728.[112] Painted between 1728-31, the pictures show the highwayman Macheath's choice, in Newgate gaol, between Polly Peachum and Lucy Locket.[113] As he developed his original composition (fig. 96), first for the play's producer, John Rich (1692-1761) (fig. 97) and then for the MP Sir Archibald Grant (1696-1778) (fig. 98) Hogarth also developed the audience, from 'good-humoured caricatures' to clearly delineated characters, part of the picture's narrative in themselves.[114]

In contrast to the stratification and curtailed perspective of *The Laughing Audience*, the spectators in *A Scene from 'The Beggar's Opera'* share not only the actors' physical space, but also the stage itself, like Ralph's 'Hermaphrodite' figures. This intimate relationship was already a feature of Gay's play. Despite Ralph's complaints about the 'prodigious Hindrance' caused by stage-sitters, the number on stage at Lincoln's Inn was usually under ten. During

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[112] For these paintings, see R. B. Beckett, 'Hogarth's Early Painting: II 1728: *The Beggar's Opera*', *The Burlington Magazine*, 90:543 (June, 1948), 166-68; Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, pp.26, 60-61; Marvin A. Carlson, 'A Fresh Look at Hogarth's "Beggar's Opera"', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 27:1 (March, 1975), 30-39; Paulson, 'Life as Journey and as Theater'; Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth: His Art and his World* (London: Hart-Davis; MacGibbon, 1977), p.47; Elizabeth Einberg and Judy Egerton, *The Age of Hogarth: British Painters born 1675-1709* (London: Tate Gallery, 1988), cat. 87, pp.74-81; Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., pp.172-85; Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon, 2000), pp.45-55; Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 13, pp.32-40 and Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp.261-68.

[113] John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera* [1728], in *Dramatic Works*, ed. John Fuller, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), II., III.ix, pp.56-60. For the scene's iconography, see Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., pp.174-75. Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, p.262, points out that the specific moment represented changes as of 1729.

[114] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.176.

the run of *The Beggar's Opera* it increased to twenty-four, and sometimes over a hundred.[115] The resulting fluidity between performers and spectators is at the heart of Hogarth's painting, underscored in the later versions by the spectators' identities. A key published after Hogarth's death (fig. 99) named the man at the back of the right-hand box as John Gay himself; next to him, John Rich, the play's producer and the painting's patron, talks to the auctioneer Christopher Cock (d.1748). Though behind the red barrier dividing actor from audience, Rich and Gay occupy an ambiguous position in relation to the performance (which they, like *The Laughing Audience*'s *beaux*, ignore), eliding the dividing line between spectator and spectacle—and, indeed, in Rich's case, between the painting and its viewer-owner.

Meanwhile, recognisable society figures invite the viewer to participate in a similar kind of socially-oriented audience-watching to that described by Freeman.[116] The primary intrigue for the eighteenth-century viewer would have been Charles Powlett, 3rd Duke of Bolton (1685-1754) who sits at the front of the right-hand box, gazing at Lavinia Fenton (1710-60) playing Polly Peachum. The two would marry upon the death of Bolton's first wife in 1751.[117] As frequently observed, Hogarth's later version (fig. 97), produced after news of the affair had come out, moves Polly-Lavinia's arm gesture from left to right, so she indicates at once her actor-father, and her lover in the audience.[118] As well as underscoring the ambiguity between spectator and spectacle, this gesture implies a fluidity between life and art. It reflects

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[115] Carlson, 'A Fresh Look at Hogarth's "Beggar's Opera"', pp.34-35.

[116] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 13C, p.37.

[117] Matthew Kilburn 'Powlett [Paulet], Charles, third duke of Bolton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21615?rskey=OscLve&result=4 [accessed 8 March 2018]. For the figures' identities, see Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 13C, pp.37-38.

[118] Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.176.

how, for R. B. Beckett, '[t]o many people Lavinia was the play'—'the play' equally signalling Gay's ballad-opera and the intrigues within and between its actors and audiences.[119]

By peppering his audience with contemporary figures, Hogarth invites the viewer to study them as much as the play itself. We are therefore imagined as the kind of distracted or inattentive audience of whom 'Charles Easy' complained. The distinction is that our perspective on the space is ostensibly omniscient, rather than, as in *The Laughing Audience,* teasingly curtailed. Even so, that omniscience is briefly interrupted by the direct gaze of Gay, which implicitly positions us within the world of the painting—where we, too, are being looked at. This is underscored by the motto on the ribbon hanging from the proscenium arch above: 'Veluti in speculum' ('as if in a mirror') not only recalls Hill's comment on the stage itself as a 'glass', but also Ralph's own conceit on the audience that same year.[120] In the *Beggar's Opera*, Hogarth similarly positions the relationship between stage and spectacle as reciprocal: the one ever-mirroring the other.

Hogarth returned to theatrical fluidity in his later *The Conduitt Piece, a performance of Dryden's "The Indian Emperor, or The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards" in the house of John Conduitt* (fig. 100). This combines the language of the theatre with that of the conversation piece, as child actors perform for their parents, on a domestic stage.[121] Here, the links

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[119] Beckett, 'Hogarth's Early Painting: II', p.167.

[120] The lettering is present but illegible in the Birmingham picture, but visible in the second (c.1728) version now in a New York private collection; see Einberg, *Hogarth*, cat. 13B, p.36.

[121] On this painting, see Mary Webster, *Hogarth* (London: Studio Vista, 1979), p.84; Einberg, *Hogarth the Painter*, cat. 4, p.24; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p.209; Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., pp.1-4; *Hogarth*, ed. Hallett and Riding, cat. 53, pp.108-9; Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 63, pp.107-110; Kate Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Art in Eighteenth-century Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp.79-80 and Phillips, 'Hogarth and History Painting', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Roman, pp.83-113 (pp.102-3). For eighteenth-century amateur theatricals, which grew in popularity later in the century, see Sybil Rosenfeld, *Temples of Thespis: Some Private Theatres and Theatricals in England and Wales, 1700-1820* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1978).

between actor and audience are negotiated through portraiture's dynastic and familial ties: while compositionally identified as the audience, the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, at the back, are watching their daughter, Lady Catherine Lennox, on stage. The picture's conceit is that Lady Catherine is both herself, and herself dressed up; the painting's 'theatricality' is therefore located not in the fact of the performance, but in the social context surrounding it. Rather than actively 'seducing' their audience—creating a theatrical illusion with the intention of arousing answering passions—these child performers recite Dryden with an earnestness that, as Mark Salber Phillips notes, allows this heroic drama to be 'redistanced […] as a scene of innocence and family pride'.[122] Everything about the performance appears at at least one remove.

The post-1729 *Beggar's Opera* paintings similarly intermingle theatrical performance with sociality, and they increasingly concentrate the resulting ambiguities on the figure of Lavinia Fenton. Her white dress, luminous against the buff tones of her surroundings (fig. 98), draws the eye, and she is marked apart by the elegant rug—nonsensical in a prison—on which she kneels. Both features are familiar from portraiture (the rumpled satins are a leitmotif of *The Indian Emperor*), and, as well as separating her from her colleagues, they underline her ambiguous social status as Bolton's mistress. Moreover, her white dress identifies her as a desirable female figure, calling attention to the colouristic continuity between fabric and skin, a device Hogarth later used to similarly erotic effect in the *Harlot* (fig. 54) and in another theatrical figure, *Southwark Fair*'s drummer girl (figs. 101-2).[123] The latter, leading the musical procession, is positioned directly in front of the 'raree-show' box at the painting's left—

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[122] Phillips, 'Hogarth and History Painting', in *Hogarth's Legacy*, ed. Roman, pp.83-113 (pp.102-3).

[123] The drummer girl is often linked with the milkmaid in *The Enraged Musician* and the titular *Shrimp Girl* as a representation of hale working-class eroticism. See Sean Shesgreen, 'William Hogarth's "Enraged Musician" and the Cries of London', in *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, ed. David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée and Peter Wagner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.125-45 (pp.136-37) and Barlow, *Enraged Musician*, pp.210-12.

which, as Einberg notes, establishes the observer's viewpoint onto a 'make-believe world'.[124] This juxtaposition of peep-show and desirable woman repeats the compositional relationship between Fenton and Bolton, similarly imagining the theatrical world in feminised, sexualised terms.

Whereas the 'actorly' seduction discussed throughout this chapter is largely metaphorical, Fenton's status as an actress, and specifically one known to have literally attracted her audience, facilitates a slippage in the *Beggar's Opera* between her success as a performer and her sexual appeal. This conflation is encapsulated in another addition to the later composition, the satyr statue behind Bolton, a symbol both of lust and the theatre and a fusion of sexual and spectatorial seduction.[125] Whereas *The Laughing Audience*, whose unseen actor is non-gendered, resolves sexual seduction into the ambiguous figures of the beaux, the *Beggar's Opera* suggests that, for women, there is no distinction between these modes of seductive appeal. Indeed, Fenton's love affair was framed by Gay's play. The Duke first saw her in the 1728 run, and they eloped soon afterwards, after another performance had finished.[126]

La Partie carrée

The relationship between actor and audience in the eighteenth-century theatre was both inherently seductive, and inherently subject to slippage. The next chapter reverses the perspective, considering actorly seduction as seen from the stage, and Watteau's address to those who occupied it. However, I conclude this chapter by expanding the terms of the

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[124] Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 67, pp.116-20 (p.117).

[125] Carlson, 'A Fresh Look at Hogarth's "Beggar's Opera"', p.34.

[126] For Lavinia Fenton, see *First Actresses*, ed. Perry and others, pp.39, 82-86 and Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 211, pp.312-13.

discussion so far, interrogating Watteau's own address to spectatorship as manifest in the inherently more provisional theatrical context of the *commedia dell'arte*.

The semi-cultivated garden setting of *La Partie carrée* (fig. 103) contrasts with the busy, stratified spaces of *The Laughing Audience* and the *Beggar's Opera.* Overseen by a sculpture of a cupid on a dolphin, which Calvin Seerveld identifies as an emblem of secret love, this outdoor location is a space for amorous encounters that exemplifies Watteau's *fête galante* form.[127] Yet, even in the absence of formal theatrical architecture, the *fête galante* itself is often considered a 'frankly artificial' genre, in discussions emphasising its implicit theatricality.[128] *La Partie carrée* takes this 'artificiality' a step further through the addition of explicitly theatrical costumes and characters. A Mezzetin appears at far left, but—as in the *Beggar's Opera*—the viewer's eye is immediately drawn to an actor whose pale costume stands out against the background: the white-clad Pierrot with his back to us.[129]

Like Hogarth, Watteau links love and performance. However, commentators have been reluctant to see *La Partie carrée* as explicitly theatrical. Mary Vidal considers it 'exclusively conversational, performance directed to a theatrical audience [having] been entirely suspended'.[130] Donald Posner suggests that all four figures are 'costumed actors, offstage, in a park, their behaviour natural and unpremeditated'.[131] Whereas *The Laughing Audience* attributes theatricality equally to spectator and spectacle, Posner implies an offstage 'natural-

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[127] Calvin Seerveld, 'Telltale Statues in Watteau's Painting', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 14:2 (Winter, 1980-1), 151-80 (p.152).

[128] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, p.57; Plax, *Watteau and Cultural Politics*, p.126; Oliver T. Banks, *Watteau and the North: Studies in the Dutch and Flemish Baroque Influence on French Rococo Painting* (London; New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1977), pp.201-2.

[129] Jean Cailleux, 'A Rediscovered Painting by Watteau: "La Partie Quarrée", *The Burlington Magazine*, 104:709 (April, 1962), i-v (p.ii).

[130] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.54.

[131] Posner, *Watteau*, p.57.

ness' that contrasts with onstage 'theatricality'. For both him and Vidal, the painting therefore signals a transition between acting and life—the moment where the actor is no longer (or not yet) attempting to seduce anyone. By implication, *La Partie carrée* calls attention to the permeability between these states, making a similar argument to the *Beggar's Opera*, while rooting its address to the theatre in an implicitly social setting that is closer to the *Indian Emperor.* However, while both Hogarth's paintings imagine the actors as both characters and performers simultaneously, *La Partie carrée* configures the 'actor' as moving successively from one identity to the next.

It is clear from the setting that Watteau's painting does not show pure 'performance', as Hogarth's work does. Moreover, as many have highlighted, the costumes do not necessarily imply 'professional' actors, probably instead alluding to fashionable aristocratic masquerade.[132] However, their wearers are still shown to explore clothing's transformative potential: much like Hogarth's *beaux*, their 'exterior signs' call attention to their 'theatrical' nature. This complicates Posner's argument that we are looking at 'natural and unpremeditated' behaviour. The composition underlines this. Like *The Laughing Audience*, the painting offers a view of a group identified by compositional position as an audience, looking at an 'actor' standing separate from them, whose implicit performativity is underscored by his explicitly theatrical costume. Just as much as Hogarth's print, then, *La Partie carrée* is 'about' performance and spectacle.

However, while Hogarth excludes the actor from the viewer's perspective, *La Partie carrée* positions us behind him. Watteau would later reverse this, in the *Pierrot* discussed in

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[132] The most developed discussion of the aristocracy's relationship with 'dressing up', in relation to Watteau is Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, pp.52-55. See also Percival, *Fragonard and Fantasy Figure*, pp.159-89 and, on the English context, Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: the Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp.52-109.

Chapter Six (fig. 104), which moves from a back-turned figure to a direct address.[133] However, whereas both *Pierrot* and *The Laughing Audience* exclude one part of the two-part seductive relationship between spectacle and spectator, *La Partie carrée* shows the relationship between audience and actor to be, if ambiguous, at least internally complete. The figures within it are apparently devoid, as Jean Cailleux writes, of the need 'which they were to feel later […]—to burst out of the frame, to demolish the structure'.[134] Instead, the painting offers a self-enclosed vision of performance, appropriate to the symmetry of its four figures, with their implicit pairs.

At the same time, Pierrot occupies a similar narrative space to the unseen spectacle surveyed by the *Man Lifting a Curtain* and, to an extent, by *The Laughing Audience*. He is both an object of careful attention and, to the viewer, a void. His body makes no signifying gesture, and, in contrast to the feminine silks of Lavinia Fenton or the drummer girl, his white costume conceals his body so completely as preclude securely gendering 'him'. Far from being seductive, he appears functionally impotent: as Katharine Baetjer points out, his unused guitar implies 'a profound silence, perhaps even suggesting that the instrument's bearer should be read as mute'.[135] It is therefore fitting that *La Partie carrée*, translated as 'the foursome', should have an undercurrent of 'amorous dalliance'.[136] Dating at least as far back as the *Recueil Jullienne*, the French title already had the sexual undertone it retains today.[137]

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[133] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 14, pp.277-80 (p.278); Cailleux also makes this connection; 'Rediscovered Painting', ii-iii.

[134] Cailleux, 'Rediscovered Painting', p.ii.

[135] *Watteau, Music, and Theatre*, ed. Baetjer, cat. 3, pp.24-26 (p.25). For Watteau's unplayed musical instruments, see also Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.38-43. A comparative discussion of *Les Charmes de la vie* and the lute as phallic object is Judy Sund, 'Middleman: Antoine Watteau and "Les Charmes de la vie"', *The Art Bulletin*, 91:1 (March, 2009), 59-82 (pp.63-64).

[136] See *Watteau, Music and Theatre*, ed. Baetjer, cat. 3, p.25.

[137] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, p.278.

Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg see no justification for an equally licentious reading, but Nicholas Mirzoeff notes the direction of the women's gaze, arguing that 'Watteau draws his spectator in with the unusual mix of theatrical costume and everyday dress and offers a concealed sexual surprise'.[138]

Mirzoeff's wording makes the artist himself the seducer, but the description could equally apply to the (would-be) 'seductive exteriority' of the actor, or the seductive '*galand*'. In any case, our interpretation of Watteau's painting must, as in the later *Laughing Audience*, hinge on the responses of the audience. Implicitly, Pierrot, like De Troy's *galands* and Hogarth's *beaux*, is, at least theoretically, attempting a sexual seduction of those he addresses. His audience, primarily gendered as female, are clearly not 'seduced' by him—indeed their whispers as they point rather suggest amusement—but, in this setting, their encounter with the performer is implicitly sexualised. Their invitation to Pierrot to play is in contrast to his largely immobile response. Rather than attempting to seduce his audience, this awkward, ambiguous figure seems overwhelmed by them: silent, unsure what to do.

Conclusion

Hogarth's *Laughing Audience* depends on a relationship between audience and (implied) actor, the performance of the latter judged through the physical responses of the former. While reflecting the eighteenth-century perception that the audience reigned supreme, this also highlights the primacy of seduction in the theatre. Successful actors could evoke instinctual responses from audiences, even while remaining themselves a void—as is the case, literally,

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[138] *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, p.278; Nicholas Mirzoeff, 'The Flickers of Seduction: The Ambivalent and Surprising Painting of Watteau', in *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp.123-32 (p.128).

in Hogarth's etching. At the same time, by focusing on the audience's responses to the unseen stimulus, *The Laughing Audience* highlights the importance of spectatorial viewpoint together with the primacy of theatrical space, and the various, changeable, perspectives offered by that space. This is reflected in the varying degrees of 'seduction' the actor is shown to have effected. The laughing figures surrender to the natural effects of their amusement. The critic is less easily amused; the seductive *beaux* are preoccupied with their own affairs. Yet, as the print demonstrates, it is this audience that defines the theatre, through their presence in the space. This idea is particularly appropriate in a print intended as an offering to viewers who had already purchased a larger-scale work that they had yet to receive.

However, the importance of the audience is also central in the painted *Beggar's Opera* series, where the gaol behind Macheath and his companions grows to encompass those watching the performance, who look at it 'as if in a mirror'. For John Rich, the original owner of the 1729 painting, this was particularly potent: he himself is visible within it. This reflects the painting's general address to the social context of Gay's play. Just as the *Indian Emperor* roots its address to theatre in the genteel context of the conversation piece, so the *Beggar's Opera* calls attention to the slippage between the actor's persona and the actor themselves. By choosing Lavinia Fenton as his focal point, Hogarth roots this slippage, and its implied address to the actor's attempted seduction of the audience, in sexuality and gender. A similar confrontation is already implied, in the context of the *fête galante*, by Watteau's *Partie carrée*, and Chapter Six develops its implications as explored in Hogarth's explicitly sexualised *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* (fig. 108). However, the next chapter will begin from the slippage implied in *La Partie carrée* between life and art, 'theatricality' and the everyday. I continue to address the implications of theatrical 'expression' already suggested by my discussion of Hogarth's relationship with Le Brun. However, rather than focusing on the so-called 'legible body'—clear effect produced by predictable cause—I confront the ambiguity of Watteau's *Pierrot*.

Chapter Six

'Étourdi par le merveilleux du spectacle':

Pierrot Performing

Though performed in a Paris fairground, the 1728 *commedia dell'arte* play, *Achmet et Almanzine* apparently surrendered none of its ambition. Its opening scene required 'un mur du sérail, dont le pied est battu par les flots de la mer, et sur le haut duquel est un balcon'.[139] It was of this kind of visual spectacle (though in the context of much grander productions) that Jacques Bénigne Bossuet had complained at the end of the seventeenth century. He had warned that:

> Il ne sert de rien de répondre qu'on n'est occupé que du chant et du spectacle, sans songer au sens des paroles, ni aux sentiments qu'elles expriment; car, c'est là précisément le danger, que pendant qu'on est enchanté par la douceur de la melodie, ou étourdi par le merveilleux du spectacle, ces sentiments s'insinuent sans qu'on y pense, et gagnent le cœur sans être aperçus'.[140]

While the eyes were diverted by the 'chant et du spectacle', the heart might be led, unthinking, into danger.

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[139] *Achmet et Almanzine*, quoted in Gustave Attinger, *L'Esprit de la commedia dell'arte dans le théâtre français* (Paris: Librairie Théatrale, 1950), p.305.

[140] Bossuet, 'Lettre de Bossuet au P. Caffaro, Théatin' [1694], in *Maximes et réflexions sur la comédie précédées de la lettre au P. Caffaro et de deux lettres de ce religieux, suivies d'une épitre en vers adressée à Bossuet*, ed. A. Gazier (Paris: Librairie Classique Eugène Belin, 1881), p.3.

Bossuet's complaint hinges on a distinction between the spectacle's 'merveilleux' and the more insidious 'sentiments' communicated through the 'sens des paroles' spoken by the actor. He therefore highlights a disparity between 'outside' and 'in', the spectacular quality of the performance, and the substantial meaning it contains—with which the spectacle may not, superficially, have much in common. Indeed, while Bossuet's 'merveilleux du spectacle' clearly anticipated the elaborate setting of *Achmet et Almanzine*, it could also be resolved more basically into the actors themselves, who also made visual appeals to the senses, through bodily gesture. In 1739, the author of a *Lettre écrite à un ami sur les danseurs de corde* noted that '[l]e Pantomime & le Danseur doivent exprimer les passions & les mouvements de l'ame que la Rhetorique enseigne'. Unlike the speaking actor, the mute pantomime performer should 'emprunter de la Peinture & de la Sculpture les differentes postures de l'homme, afin que le Spectateur entende comme s'ils parloient'.[141]

This text emphasises the need to establish sympathy between actor and audience. However, in discussing mute performers, it also highlights the importance of exteriority in the actor's interaction with those watching. The spectator's reaction might be an instinctive expression of the passions aroused by the actor (as in *The Laughing Audience*), but the actor would actively manipulate their body to evoke them.[142] The artificiality of so doing was exemplified by their imaginative relationship to 'la Peinture', another form of mute communication, and similarly illusory.[143]

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[141] [Anonymous], *Lettre écrite à un ami sur les danseurs de corde…* (Paris: Chez la V. Valleyre, 1739), pp.6-7.

[142] For the issue of physicality in acting, see Denise S. Sechelski, 'Garrick's Body and the Labour of Art in Eighteenth-century Theatre', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 39:4 (Summer, 1996), 369-89, and, for the French context, Hobson, 'Sensibilité et spectacle', 145-64 and Goodden, *Actio and Persuasion*, esp. pp.1-25.

[143] For the link between painting and sign language, see Nicholas Mirzoeff, 'Body Talk: Deafness, Sign and Visual Language in the Ancien Régime', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 25:4 (Summer, 1992), 561-85.

In March 1733, nine months before Hogarth issued *The Laughing Audience*, Watteau's painting of *The Italian Comedians* (fig. 106) was reportedly 'dans le Cabinet de M. Mead, Médecin du Roy de la Grande-Bretagne'.[144] It remained in Richard Mead's 'Cabinet', where Hogarth must have seen it, until the doctor's death.[145] Unlike the theatrical works discussed in Chapter Five, in which actors ironically eschew the viewer, or face internal spectators, Watteau's *Comedians* look directly at us, as Pierrot and his colleagues take their bow. Though probably produced in London, the painting repeats a device Watteau had previously used in Paris, in the *Pierrot* (formerly *Gilles*) now in the Louvre (fig. 104).[146] Pierrot stands in parallel to us, aligned (writes Marika T. Knowles) with 'an axis that extends through the canvas rather than across it', as direct as his equivalent in *La Partie carrée* was evasive.[147]

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[144] *Mercure de France*, March, 1733, p.554.

[145] For the argument that Hogarth was directly inspired by this painting, see Paulson, *Hogarth*, I., p.177 and Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, pp.60-61.

[146] The debate about the painting's title dates from Dora Panofsky, 'Gilles or Pierrot? Iconographic Notes on Watteau', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th period, 39 (January, 1952), 319-40; it was contested by Jeannine Baticle, 'Pierrot, Gilles et les autres', in *Antoine Watteau (1684-1721): le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, ed. Margaret Morgan Moureau and Pierre Grasselli (Paris-Genève: Champion-Slatkine, 1984), pp.37-41. For Pierrot and Gilles in the context of Watteau's picture, see Posner, *Watteau*, pp.267-69, and for current thinking on the title, *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 69, pp.429-35 (p.430). *Pierrot* is among Watteau's most discussed paintings. Key scholarship includes Paul Mantz, *Antoine Watteau* (Paris: À la librairie illustrée, 1892), pp. 96-99; Louis D. Fourcaud, 'Antoine Watteau: Scènes et figures théâtrales', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XV (January - June, 1904), 135-50 (p.145); Edmond Pilon, *Watteau et son école*, 2 vols (Paris; Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art & d'Histoire, 1912), I., p.97; Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, 1929), I., pp.68-69. Hélène Adhémar, 'Les Mystères du "Gilles"', *Arts*, 336 (Friday 7 December, 1951), 2; Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, pp.144-51; Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.238-42; Plax, *Watteau and Cultural Politics*, pp.170-71; Judy Sund, 'Why So Sad? Watteau's Pierrots', *The Art Bulletin*, 98:3 (September, 2016), 321-47.

[147] Marika T. Knowles, 'Pierrot's Periodicity: Watteau, Nadar and the Circulation of the Rococo', in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, ed. Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), pp.109-27 (p.122).

Though arguably the compositional opposite of *The Laughing Audience*, the literal 'confrontation' of *Pierrot* and the *Comedians* also calls attention to the actor-audience relationship, the former soliciting the latter's attention. However, both Pierrots also break the theatrical and pictorial 'fourth wall', like Hogarth's 'John Gay' in the later *Beggar's Opera*. The result is that, while the *Man Lifting a Curtain*, a preparatory drawing for the *Comedians*, suggests a teasing evasiveness, with its protagonist gazing into the void, these finished paintings appeal to their audience directly, apparently offering substance rather than the actorly trickery, or seductive appearances, of which Bossuet had complained. At the same time, by inviting the (external) viewer to meet their gazes, these figures invite us into the image, implicating us as part of the diegetic audience, whilst also calling attention to our own position in front of the canvas. In this sense, these Pierrots' confrontation recalls the dramatic 'aside'; moments in performance where the actor addresses the audience directly. Already a well established theatrical device in the eighteenth century, the 'aside' simultaneously claims directness and authenticity, and reminds the audience that they are in a theatre, where everything is illusory.[148] As Diderot would later put it, at such moments: 'L'auteur est sorti de son sujet, l'acteur entraîné hors de son rôle. […] Je les vois dans le parterre; et tant que dure la tirade, l'action est suspendue pour moi, et la scène reste vide'.[149]

The previous chapter argued that the boundaries between spectator and spectacle were easily blurred, even in the formal setting of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Chapter Six addresses a theatrical context that was inherently informal: Watteau's *Pierrot* arises from the specific

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[148] For audience awareness on stage during the eighteenth century, see Theodore E. D. Braun, 'From Marivaux to Diderot: Awareness of the Audience in the "Comédie", the "Comédie larmoyante" and the "Drame"', *Diderot Studies*, 20 (1982), 17-29 and Braun, 'Audience-Awareness Theory and Eighteenth-century French Novels', *Diderot Studies*, 28 (2000), 59-73.

[149] Denis Diderot, 'Entretiens sur "Le Fils naturel"', in *Œuvres esthétiques*, ed. Vernière, pp.71-175 (p.102). This chapter addresses the period up to 1719, when Watteau was working; for a discussion of Diderot's dramatic theory see Von Held, *Alienation and Theatricality*, pp.92-223.

tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* performances at Paris's fair theatres.[150] Their nature is suggested, in the English context, by *Southwark Fair*, which includes Pierrot's colleague, Harlequin, on a temporary stage on the right-hand balcony (fig. 102). Surrounded both by potential audiences and theatrical competition, he receives little formal attention, but still continues to perform. Here, theatrical space is less important than the performance itself, which is one of many offerings to the fair-goer.

Expanding the discussion with which Chapter Five ended, this chapter focuses on the actor as performer-seducer, as embodied in Watteau's *Pierrot* and the *Comedians*. I begin by rooting these paintings in the Parisian fair context; the world of *Achmet et Almanzine*. While, as suggested in Chapter Five, formal theatres did not imply formal divisions between actor and audience, the more provisional fair context brought many of theatre's inherent ambiguities to the fore, indeed calling self-conscious, playful attention to them. In his address to this context, Watteau made similarly self-conscious use of his own seductive illusion, highlighting the meeting points between the theatre and the everyday. Like the 'aside', this approach calls attention both to the mediating artist-impresario, and to the seductive spectacles underpinning the theatre itself.

However, Watteau's engagement with theatre also includes Pierrot's distinctive direct address, which highlights a central problem of the Louvre painting in particular: how to read the face of this clown, described by Louis Fourcaud as 'philosophe sans doctrine', and considered by many as somehow vacuous?[151] To answer this, I invoke Michael Fried's famous

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[150] For the *commedia dell'arte*, see Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*; Attinger, *L'Esprit de la commedia dell'arte*; Jérôme de la Gorce, 'L'Académie royale de musique et la Comédie-italienne sous le règne de Louis XIV: Deux entreprises de spectacle en rivalité?', in *L'Opéra de Paris, La Comédie-Française et l'Opéra Comique: Approches comparées (1669-2010)*, ed. Sabine Chaouche, Denis Helin and Solveig Serre (Paris: École des Chartes, 2012), pp. 17-24; *Studies in the Commedia Dell'Arte*, ed. David J. George and Christopher J. Gossip (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).

[151] Fourcaud, 'Antoine Watteau: Scènes et figures théâtrales', p.145.

discussion of 'absorption' and 'theatricality' in eighteenth-century painting; terms that imply a similar distinction between 'inwardness' and 'outwardness'. For Fried, 'absorption', identifiable in paintings of sleeping, reading or working, suggests a preoccupation with something other than the viewer, of whose presence the painting's subject (like the effective actor) appears ignorant. Discussing Diderot's *Salons*, Fried identified 'absorption' as essential to critical success in France during the later eighteenth century, part of 'the first phase of the reaction against the Rococo'.[152] The alternative was the 'theatrical' painting, in which the figures demonstrated an 'awareness of an audience, of being beheld', therefore creating an 'artificial construction in which persuasiveness was sacrificed and dramatic illusion vitiated in the attempt to impress the beholder and solicit his applause'.[153] Arising from the theatre context, and apparently literally soliciting the viewer's applause, Watteau's Pierrots refuse the possibility of Friedian absorption, through what Knowles calls 'frontality', and Fried himself (in another context) '"facingness"'.[154]

I conclude with a return to Hogarth, and to a work produced after both Watteau's *Pierrot* and his own *Laughing Audience*. The 1736-38 composition showing 'a Company of strolling Actresses, dressing themselves for the Play in a Barn' is now known only through

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[152] Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1980), p.7. Fried developed these ideas in *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), esp. pp.1-52, *Manet's Modernism: or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), esp. pp.185-261 and 'Jeff Wall, Wittgenstein, and the Everyday', *Critical Inquiry*, 33:3 (Spring, 2007), 495-526 (pp.500-2), which offers a succinct summary of the original proposition. For a critique, see James A. W. Heffernan, 'Staging Absorption and Transmuting the Everyday: A Response to Michael Fried', *Critical Inquiry*, 34:4 (Summer, 2008), 818-34 and Emma Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), for example, pp.21-45.

[153] Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, p.100.

[154] Knowles, 'Pierrot's periodicity', p.122; Fried, 'Jeff Wall, Wittgenstein', p.502.

the engraving published by Hogarth in May 1738 (fig. 108).[155] A more explicitly finished print than *The Laughing Audience*, with its allusion to the unseen *Rake*, *Strolling Actresses* identifies its protagonists as itinerant or temporary players of a kind closer to Watteau's fair comedians and the performers of *Southwark Fair* than to the unseen actors of the subscription ticket. Once again, a central figure looks out at the viewer, and, just as *Pierrot* arises from the context of the Parisian fairs, so this image makes provisional, patched-together performance part of its own address to the theatre, whilst also calling attention to the actors' attempt at seductive spectacle. However, the pivotal figure of 'Diana' also establishes Hogarth's as an explicitly eroticised image, and therefore another example—with the *Beggar's Opera* and *Southwark Fair*—of a work linking actorly 'seductiveness' explicitly to gender. I therefore conclude with a return to this question. How is the relationship between actor and audience implicated when the actor is a woman?

The Parisian fair theatres

As a large-scale depiction of a *commedia* character, *Pierrot* (fig. 104) is among Watteau's most explicitly 'theatrical' paintings. Its outdoor setting suggests that its protagonist is a performer at the temporary theatres at the Foire Saint-Laurent that 's['est] regardé[s] comme héritiers' of the Italian Comedians, suppressed since 1697.[156] Unlike the formal theatre actor, the *commedia* actors improvised, based on a set of stock characters with fixed traits.[157] This approach drew on models of gallant conversation, which prioritised 'the instantaneous flash of bril-

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[155] *London Evening Post*, Tuesday 22 - Thursday 25 April, 1738, p.8; see also Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 103, pp.168-71.

[156] [Parfaict], *Mémoires*, I., p.11.

[157] Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, p.49.

liance' over preparation, and prized *bons mots* that 'consiste principalement à estre courts, aigus, clairs, proferez avec grace, & si à propos qu'ils ne sentent pas l'odeur de l'étude'.[158] Like the aristocratic inhabitants of the *salon*, the *commedia* actor therefore had to deploy both a quick wit and and a 'kind of self-abegnation'. Pierre-Louis Ducharte highlights the resultant 'spirit of camaraderie' and 'mutual co-operation' that characterised troupes working in a medium that was fundamentally social, collaborative and spontaneous.[159]

The fairs also brought their own specific demands. Legal quarrels with the Comédie-Française over monopoly rights meant that, at various points between 1680-1718, fair troupes were forbidden to use dialogue.[160] The Parfraicts recalled how, as a result, 'un seul Acteur parloit, & que les autres faisoient des signes & des démonstrations pour exprimer ce qu'ils vouloient dire'.[161] In other instances, the *forains* would hold up placards containing missing bits of dialogue, or sing the words to popular tunes (thereby creating what would become the *opéra comique*).[162] They also used physical performances: dancing, tightrope walking,

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[158] Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Esthetics of the Moment: Literature and Art in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p.13; Nicolas Faret, *L'Honeste homme, ou, l'Art de plaire à la Cour* (Paris: Mathurin Henault, 1637), p.176. For eighteenth-century conversation, see Vidal, *Painted Conversations*.

[159] Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, p.30-1.

[160] The best account of the disputes between the formal theatres and the fairs is Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, esp. pp.81-97. See also George Evans, 'Lesage and d'Orneval's "thêâtre de la foire", the "commedia dell'arte" and Power', in *Studies in the Commedia Dell'Arte*, ed. George and Gossip, pp.107-120 and Attinger, *L'Esprit de la commedia dell'arte*, pp.289-307. De la Gorce, 'L'Académie royale de musique', in *L'Opéra de Paris*, ed. Chaouche, Helin and Serre, pp.17-24 also contextualises the privilege disputes during this period.

[161] [Parfaict], *Mémoires*, I. p.59.

[162] Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy,* pp.81-89; Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, pp.110-13.

puppetry and acrobatics.[163] The latter three, already also visible in *Southwark Fair*, were similarly used by non-licensed companies in England to circumvent the 1737 Licensing Act.[164]

Fair theatres therefore offered a looser, more bowdlerised form of performance than the formal spectacle implied, if not necessarily effected, by the theatrical space of Hogarth's *Laughing Audience*, and *Beggar's Opera*. Not only were the barriers between audience and actor less clear cut, the audience could themselves become part of the performance: fair performers frequently invited them to sing the words held up on their placards, thereby supplying the dialogue they themselves were forbidden.[165] The formal 'performance' was therefore no longer securely located in the prescribed area of the stage, but spread out to include the audience upon whose presence (as argued in Chapter Five) it depended. Actor and audience were no longer defined in spatial terms. Not only could the spectators themselves participate in the *forains*' dramatic action; the performers drew as much on models of social forms of 'seduction'—conversational wit and charm—as on formally established rhetorical technique.

As a result, the premise of a fair performance was interactive. Performers still sought audience approval, but, like the relationship between the *commedia* actors themselves, it was an interaction rooted more in collaboration than in persuasion. As Robert Isherwood notes, the fair theatres drew 'little distinction between spectator and performer, between the actual life of people in the streets and the representation of life and mentality in the *spectacles*.'[166] Moreover, this specific kind of theatre, 'highly diversified, plastic, malleable', was often conflated with the *commedia* figure of Pierrot, the *zanni* defined variously by stupidity, sensitivity

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[163] Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, p.41.

[164] See *London Stage*, ed. Scouten, III., 1:xlviii-lx and Emmett L. Avery and A. H. Scouten, 'The Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1737-1739', *The English Historical Review*, 83:327 (April, 1968), 331-36.

[165] Robert F. Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp.38-39.

[166] Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, p.30.

and clumsiness, who stood as its personification in several plays addressing its struggles with the Comédie-Française throughout 1718.[167]

Apparently painted in this period, between 1718-19, Watteau's *Pierrot* is on such an unusually large scale as to lead many to read it, with *L'Enseigne*, as a signboard.[168] If this is the case, it may have been intended (as Hélène Adhémar was the first to argue) for the noted former Pierrot Belloni (d.1723), and the café he opened on the rue Aubry-le-Boucher after retiring in 1718, in his mid-thirties.[169] As the Parfaicts record, Belloni had previously installed himself as a 'Limonadier' on the rue des Petits-Champs, 'dans une boutique, avec un plafond au-dessus de la porte, qui représentoit des Acteurs Italiens, où sa figure ne fut pas oubliée, & pour devise, *AU CAFFÉ COMIQUE*', before transferring to his second café, where he displayed 'pour enseigne son portrait habillé en *Pierrot*'.[170] The similarity of the circumstances with those that led to *L'Enseigne* is striking, while Watteau's established fondness for painting the *commedia*, and interest in shop signs, would have made him an apt choice to paint either of these *enseignes*, the first of which fortuitously recalls the *Comedians*.[171] Those who consider *Pierrot* a signboard have therefore assumed that the central figure is Belloni 'habillé en *Pierrot*', though no likenesses of Belloni survive to support this.[172]

Watteau's Pierrot appears to address his audience; an active solicitation that, if he was a signboard, might have served the additional extra-diegetic function of attracting the

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[167] Storey, *Pierrot*, pp.40-41. See also pp.3-65 for a survey of Pierrot's evolution up to the eighteenth century.

[168] See Mantz, *Antoine Watteau*, pp.96-99 and Adhémar, 'Mystères du "Gilles"', p.2, which picks up on Mantz's argument. This theory has found general acceptance, although see Baticle, 'Pierrot, Gilles et les autres', in *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Moureau, pp.37-41. An recent discussion of the evidence, including a response to Batice is Plax, *Watteau*, pp.170-71.

[169] Adhémar, 'Mystères du "Gilles"', p.2.

[170] [Parfaict], *Mémoires*, I., p.36-37.

[171] Chapter Four discusses *L'Enseigne*.

[172] See Posner, *Watteau*, pp.270-71 and *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, p.433.

passerby, in a conflation of theatrical and commercial seduction. Such solicitation was itself also a necessary part of fair performances, where troupes, like shopkeepers, jostled for fair-goers' attention. Watteau's spatial arrangement hints at this rougher theatrical context. Rather than a formal stage, Pierrot has a patch of earth, his foot resting centimetres from the painting's edge. Almost as much part of 'our' space as of the theatre, he stands at a provisional point between the two, on a space that ends abruptly behind him and partially conceals a further group of *commedia* figures in the background.

The implied narrative is similarly ambiguous: Pierrot could equally be addressing us to signal the beginning of the show, or—if he is about to bow—its completion. By contrast, the figures behind, dragging a donkey, are ostensibly mid-performance; like Pierrot, the 'Doctor' at far left glances towards us. Though, unlike Pierrot, he does not meet our gaze directly, his turn in our direction implies he is aware of his audience, supporting the idea that this group are actively performing, rather than working backstage. However, it still remains uncertain what *kind* of performance this is. Posner reads it as 'the last bit of funny business', an attempt to maintain the audience's attention long enough to solicit payment for a just-completed play.[173] However, they could equally be about to finish the preliminary, warm-up action, before Pierrot begins. Either reading locates these figures at a moment when the actor's address to the audience is particularly urgent, highlighting the importance of that would-be seductive relationship. However, it also calls attention to the fluidity between states of actorly seduction and 'real life', locating Watteau's painting at an explicitly transitional stage between them.

As argued in Chapter Five, Hogarth, too, explored the ambiguity between these states in the *Beggar's Opera*, which represents Polly-Lavinia as both in and out of role. However, whereas Hogarth negotiates this through the pointed breakdown of ostensibly solid

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[173] Posner, *Watteau*, p.270.

divisions of space, Watteau begins from the inherent spatial ambiguities of the fair theatre, where the actors' status is already unclear. As his Pierrot faces us, on his tiny stage, our attention is also solicited by a secondary performance behind him, which is not only on a different plane, but also partially hidden from view. This complicates Norman Bryson's argument, with reference to the later *Comedians*, that though we expect the painted stage to represent 'art, the arena of meaningfulness', at the end of the performance 'the division between the zones breaks down […] and […] it is impossible to decide whether we are still seeing the bodies of characters from the drama, or the asemantic bodies of actors out of role'.[174] *Pierrot* begins from this broken down division. What point of the performance are we watching? And are these actors 'in role', attempting to seduce, or 'asemantic' bodies, about to rejoin our world?

Chapter One argued for a link between Watteau's *fêtes galantes* and his experimentation with the arabesque. *Pierrot*, too, builds on features inherent to this earlier medium. Thomas Crow highlights how, in the arabesque, 'the various emblematic elements of the frame hover just beyond the reach of the illusionistic space but close enough so that their mixed symbolic load spills into our reading of the enclosed drama'.[175] His language evokes similar points of spatial slippage to the ones identified in *Pierrot*. However, a direct point of comparison is provided by one of six (undated) arabesques that Watteau apparently painted for 'un *Paravant*'.[176] One shows a Pierrot, and survives in a later engraving by Louis Crépy (168?-1760) (fig. 105).

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[174] Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.81.

[175] Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, p.62.

[176] Dacier and Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, III., cats. 158-63, p.79.

Here, Pierrot stands on a stage, the theatrical purpose of which is indicated by the framing swags of curtain. The arabesque combines elements later seen in both *Pierrot* and the *Comedians*. 'Framed' by foliage, Pierrot is identified equally as 'real'—part of the painted picture at the centre—and fantastical, emerging from the explicitly decorative areas above the stage-like construction on which he stands. These framing elements deceive the eye, offering clarity and resolution followed by uncertainty. The oscillation is appropriate to the seductive genre of the arabesque, but also reflects Pierrot's theatrical context. As the Parfaicts recalled, after the original Comedians' expulsion from the Hôtel Bourgogne, 'on construisit des salles de Spectacles en forme, Théatre, Loges, Parquet, &c,' at the fairs.[177] The range of architectural spaces here evoked suggests that these were at once temporary constructions, and self-conscious allusions to the solid formality of 'permanent' theatrical buildings. Like the arabesque's 'frame', they simultaneously facilitated temporary illusion, and called attention to their own constructed nature.

Within the elegantly curved arabesque, Watteau's ram-rod Pierrot is initially visually jarring. This awkwardness is appropriate, since, as Hogarth noted in the *Analysis*, the *commedia* Pierrot's 'movements and attitudes' were 'chiefly in perpendiculars and parallels, so is his figure and dress'.[178] Hogarth's comment contrasts Pierrot's 'parallels' with the seductive curves of his own 'line of beauty', evidence (as Angelica Goodden has also noted) that he considered the beauty of variety 'entirely absent' from this figure.[179] The arabesque similarly contrasts Pierrot's uprightness with the serpentine lines around him. However, the rhyming straight lines around the image's borders and the stage ultimately allow this tension to be harmoniously resolved, in an image encapsulating the arabesque's seductive, decorative appeal.

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[177] [Parfaict], *Mémoires*, I., p.11.

[178] Hogarth, *Analysis*, pp.110-11 (p.110).

[179] Goodden, *Actio and Persuasion*, pp.7-8.

There is none of this in the Louvre painting. *Pierrot* again focuses on the vertical axis of the titular figure, but his presence is the more ungainly because it is not centred, but slightly off to the left, yet not far enough to create a pleasing asymmetry. This precludes the order and appeal of the decorative design. The foliage behind does not harmoniously enclose Pierrot, but juts close to his elbow on one side, leaving empty space on the other. Running down its vertical axis, he dominates the canvas, creating a line that is emphasised by the row of white buttons and the dark division of the trousers, creating a single perpendicular to the ground. Whereas the arabesque makes Pierrot a small, thin vertical, allowing for a rhythmic interplay between several straight lines, *Pierrot*'s 'perpendiculars' and ungainly size are emphasised by the roundel of the hat, and swelling of his costume. Rather than softening the central 'perpendicular', they bulk it out. His costume makes him—like Lavinia Fenton, or *Southwark Fair*'s drummer girl—a luminous, white-clad presence, but, where those performers were seductive, this awkward, apparently sexless figure confronting us is unsettling. He is too close, too large, and irritatingly off-centre. Like his audience in the earlier *La Partie carrée*, our reaction is less seduction than confused amusement.

While these features may disrupt the elegant order Watteau sought in the explicitly decorative arabesque, they are effective visual equivalents for the easel painting's subject. Like all *commedia* characters, Pierrot's personality was constantly subject to modification, depending on the demands of the plays in which he appeared, and the strengths of the actor playing him.[180] However, he was frequently a figure of 'basic honesty', and, as described by the Parfaicts, was played by Belloni in particular with 'l'air naïf & les tons heureux'.[181] He

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[180] See Storey, *Pierrot*, p.3-34. For other discussions of Pierrot the character, see Bruce Griffiths, 'Sunset: from commedia dell'arte to comédie italienne', in *Studies in the Commedia Dell'Arte*, ed. George and Gossip, pp. 91-105 (pp.96-97); Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, pp.252-55 and p.261; Léon Chancerel, with Robert Barthès, 'Le Masque (Premier Cahier)', *Prospero*, 10 (1944), 54-58.

[181] Storey, *Pierrot*, p.23; [Parfaict], *Mémoires*, I., p.v.

therefore apparently eschewed the actor's studied attempt to seduce, in favour of honest directness. Watteau's *Pierrot*, accordingly, contrasts with the studied artifice of *The Laughing Audience*'s beaux, or the gesturing figure of Brighella, his yellow-clad *commedia* colleague, who presents Pierrot to his audience in the *Comedians*.[182] Instead, it favours an aesthetic and compositional artlessness, underscored by the ambiguities of the painting's narrative moment.

While these characteristics are indicated through Pierrot's posture and expression (to which I will return), I want to emphasise the importance of these apparently external factors, decisions of composition, over features inherent to the character. They reflect Pierrot's stock characteristics, but these 'artless' elements also deny the theatricality of the painting's putative subject, in favour of a direct address to a viewer imagined to occupy a similar narrative space to the central character. The painting therefore hinges on the dichotomy identified by Bryson, between 'asemantic' and 'performative' bodies; zones of drama and zones of the everyday. Pierrot encapsulates this: at once an apparently naïve figure innocent of any and all seductive intentions, and an actor, with the actor's range of illusory tricks.

The Italian Comedians

In 1755, Watteau's painting of 'A Company of ITALIAN COMEDIANS' was recorded as having been commissioned by Mead when Watteau had been 'in England, and not in the best health

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[182] There is some uncertainty about this figure's identity. Donald Posner names him as Scaramouche in *Antoine Watteau*, p.265 but Brighella is preferred by: Rosenberg and Prat, *Antoine Watteau*, II. cat. 507, pp.850-51 (p.850); François Moureau, 'Watteau in his Time' in *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, pp.469-506 (p.490), and *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, ed. Baetjer, cat. 13, pp.47-49 (p.47). However, these identifications are never explained. For Brighella's and Scaramouche's costumes, neither clearly identifiable in Watteau's painting, see Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, pp.161-76 and pp.229-47. I follow the majority view here.

or circumstances'.[183] Together with George Vertue's 1724 comment that the doctor owned 'Watteaux Conversations. painted in England', this confirms him as the only securely identifiable owner of a painting produced by Watteau in London, and dates the picture to between late 1719 and 1720.[184] A noted non-conformist physician, Mead was 'a typical representative of the learned tastes and orthodox connoisseurship of the Augustan age'.[185] By 1732, he had built an extension to his Great Ormond Street home; a gallery open daily to artists.[186] In him, Watteau must have found a patron and collector comparable to one he had earlier found in Pierre Crozat.[187]

As its title suggests, Mead's *Comedians* (fig. 106) continues many of the concerns of Watteau's previous pictures. However, it may also relate to a concrete London event: a

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[183] *A Catalogue of Pictures, Consisting of Portraits, Landscapes, Sea-Pictures, Architecture, Flowers, Fruits, Animals, Histories of the Late Richard Mead, M.D. Sold by Auction on March 1754* (London: Langford's, 20-22 March 1755), p.xiv.

[184] Vertue Note Books vol. III, *Walpole Society, X*XII (1933-34), p.23. See also Horace Walpole's comment in *Anecdotes of Painting in England…*, rev. James Dalloway and Ralph N. Wornum, 3 vols (London: Henry G Bohn, 1888) II. p.679. For the connection between the *Comedians* and Mead himself, see Craig Hanson, 'Dr Richard Mead and Watteau's "Comédiens Italiens"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 145:1201 (April, 2003), 265-72, and for Mead's relationship with Watteau, Humphrey Wine, 'Watteau's Consumption and "L'Enseigne de Gersaint"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (April, 1990), 163-70.

[185] Mary Webster, 'Taste of an Augustan Collector: The Collection of Dr Richard Mead—II', *Country Life*, CXLVIII (24 September, 1970), 765-67 (p.767). For Mead's life, see also [Dr. Mattley], 'Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Dr. Richard Mead', *The Magazine of Magazines* (November, 1754), pp.507-13 and [Anonymous], *Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead, M.D.* (London: Printed for J. Whiston and B. White in Fleet Street, 1755). These biographies were sufficiently detailed to form the basis for much subsequent scholarship on Mead; see Ian Jenkins, 'Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754) and his Circle', in *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. R. G. W. Anderson, M. L. Caygill, A. G. MacGregor and L. Synson (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), pp.127-35 and Richard Meade, *In the Sunshine of Life: A Biography of Dr Richard Mead, 1673-1754* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1974).

[186] Jenkins, 'Richard Mead', in *Enlightening the British*, ed. Anderson, Caygill, MacGregor and Syson, p.128.

[187] For Watteau and Crozat, see Posner, *Watteau*, pp.69-114. Watteau attended meetings of London's artistic Rose and Crown club while in London, supporting the idea that the trip was driven by a desire to make such connections; see Ilaria Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian and Art Institutions in London, 1689-1768: A Study of Clubs and Academies', *Walpole Society*, LIV (1988), 1-148 (pp.49-50).

'Company of French Comedians' visited the English capital in February 1720.[188] They were among many *commedia* troupes and tropes appearing in London theatres in this period.[189] Despite the established English settings for generalised *commedia* performances (shown in *Southwark Fair*), these visiting troupes performed in formal theatre buildings.[190] Watteau's *Comedians*, therefore, also had its own English point of reference which also placed them between theatrical contexts.[191]

While *The Laughing Audience* and the *Beggar's Opera* imply a synchronic relationship between actor and spectator, the *Comedians*, like *La Partie carrée* and (to an extent) *Pierrot*, dwells on points of transition between them. This section argues that Watteau thereby calls attention to the role of seductive illusion, the attempt to deceive the audience's eyes, in both the enveloping contexts of the *commedia* performers and of art itself. Where, at one level, *Pierrot* speaks to honesty and straightforwardness, the *Comedians* revels in its visual sleight of hand. It performs for the audience much like Diderot's 'séducteur' at the feet of the woman he wishes to deceive. In so doing, it calls attention to the artist's own implication in that seduction.

Whereas *Pierrot* has a provisional patch of 'stage', *The Italian Comedians* stand within a theatrical, architectural space, within which they are clearly marked as performers. Like *The Laughing Audience*, the *Comedians* therefore highlights space as separation between actors and imagined audience. *Pierrot*'s white shoe juts at the picture's edge, but the *Comedians*' stone

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[188] *Daily Post*, Thursday 4 February, 1720, f.p.

[189] For the Italian Comedians in London, see Avery, *London Stage*, p.xix and Jennifer Thorp, 'From Scaramouche to Harlequin: Dances "in grotesque characters" on the London Stage', in *The Lively Arts of the London Stage, 1675-1725*, ed. Kathryn Lowerre (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp.113-27 (p.117). For protests against them, see Kathleen Wilson, 'The Good, the Bad and the Impotent: Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Georgian England', *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.237-62

[190] See *London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays*, ed. Van Lennep, Avery and others, II., 2:553, 566.

[191] Simon argues that the *Comedians* were based on a troupe performing in London; see *Hogarth, France and British Art*, p.71.

steps separate the performers from our world, while also offering a route 'into' the painting. At the same time, aspects of their theatrical space are self-consciously ambiguous. The light, loose brushstrokes describing the entirety of the 'stone' background suggest we could equally well be looking at painted cloth, or paper. Though apparently in the same 'stone', the formal steps, by contrast, seem comparatively solid. Together, they underscore this theatre's created, artificial, nature. While the steps set it 'apart' from the everyday, the backdrop hints at its illusion. The theatre is identified as a place where the solid and the permeable combine, bleeding deceptively into one another.

However, while clearly resonating with this theatrical context, the *Comedians'* steps are also familiar from the history of art. Similar structures appear in works by Titian (1488-1576), well represented in both Mead and Crozat's collections.[192] Christopher Brown suggests the stone steps of Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (1538, Accademia, Venice), and the *Vendramin Family* (c.1543-47, National Gallery, London) as sources for Anthony Van Dyck's *The 4th Earl of Pembroke and his Family* (fig. 107).[193] Van Dyck uses Titian's steps to evoke a transitional moment, as the bride, Mary Villiers, mounts them to join the Pembroke clan. In the *Comedians*, they similarly mark a point of division; this time, between 'our' world and that of the actors. It is also a firmer divide: even the assembly's lowest posi-

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[192] *A Catalogue of the Genuine, Entire and Curious Collection of Prints and Drawings (Bound and Unbound) of the Late Doctor Mead…* (London: Langford's, 13 January 1755); for the Crozat collection, see P. J. Mariette, *Description sommaire des desseins des grands maistres … du cabinet de feu M. Crozat…* (Paris: Pierre-Jean-Mariette, 1741) and Cordélia Hattori, 'Contemporary Drawings in the Collection of Pierre Crozat', *Master Drawings*, 45:1 (Spring, 2007), 38-53.

[193] Christopher Brown, 'Van Dyck's Pembroke Family Portrait: An Inquiry into its Italian Sources', in *Van Dyck: Paintings*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Susan J. Barnes, Julius S. Held and others (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990), pp.37-44. On the *Vendramin Family*, engraved by Bernard Baron in 1732, and a copy of which was at Hampton Court in the seventeenth century, see Nicholas Penny, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings*, 2 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), II., pp.206-35.

tioned figure, the red-clad figure possibly representing Folly, clears the first step, sitting in an awkward posture to do so.[194]

While marking a point of transition, these steps' allusion to earlier precedents underlines the painting's 'paintedness', its status as a created work responding to past examples. Watteau therefore calls attention to his own painting as a theatrical illusion. He underscores this through the 'framing' effect created by the juxtaposition of the horizontal step with the vertical column. Like the steps themselves, this framing device is an established *trompe l'oeil* motif, a device indicating, as Victor Stoichita argues, that 'the [painting's] fiction has been raised by the power of two'.[195] The *Comedians* partially completes this internal frame, while also signalling its theatrical nature, through the red curtain at top right. Reminiscent of the curtain in the *Pierrot* arabesque, it hangs from an ambiguous position above the top of the plane. Here, it would inevitably be made more difficult to read by the shadow cast by the actual frame—'separat[ing] the image from anything that is nonimage'—surrounding the finished picture.[196]

Like the steps, this curtain is at once appropriate to the theatrical subject, and reminiscent of an earlier tradition, in this case the illusionistic drapes of seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Once again, the original context is of self-conscious theatricality: just as, for Stoichita, the illusionistic frame 'raises the power' of the implied fiction, so Martha Hollander considers fictive curtains in the work of (for example) Gerrit Dou (1613-75) to 'transfor[m] a painting into a fictive object isolated from the viewer's space, calling attention

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[194] François Moureau, 'Watteau in his Time', in *Watteau*, ed. Moureau and Grasselli, pp.469-506 (p.490).

[195] Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. by Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.30.

[196] Stoichita, *Self-Aware Image*, p.30.

to the ability of painting to deceive the eye with its verisimilitude'.[197] Like the actor, surrounded by his 'merveilleux du spectacle', the artist is identified as an 'exterior' figure, whose deceptive devices trick the eye. Both frame and curtain call attention at once to the painting's materiality, and its illusionistic power.

At the same time, these devices are also self-conscious, inviting us to *notice* the artist's tricks. This mirrors the status of the *Comedians* themselves. They are costumed, and therefore implicitly in character, but equally—as suggested by their bow to the audience—about to return to the everyday. Craig Hanson therefore characterises the action of the painting itself as a 'moment of transition between performance and the reality of life'.[198] Brighella's address to the audience encapsulates this: at once performative, and an acknowledgement that performance is past. Moreover, the gesture itself operates on two levels. In addressing an unseen audience, Brighella underscores their presence, just as Hogarth's laughing figures indicate invisible actors. However, much like Hogarth's later 'John Gay', and the *Comedians'* own Pierrot, Brighella also makes eye contact with the viewer. As a result, though his costume and position locate him in the performers' world, he also reaches out beyond it. In directly addressing both diegetic and extra-diegetic audience, he (like the Louvre *Pierrot*) breaks the 'fourth wall' of both drama and picture, acknowledging the seductive illusion of both.

Watteau's painting, like the comedians themselves, therefore hints at its own status as a teasing *trompe l'oeil*, revelling in its fiction even as it apparently winds that fiction down. At the same time, rather than the literal frames-within-frames to which Stoichita alludes, it offers frame-*like* devices, over which figures spill, and within which they pile. Nothing is entirely inviolable: 'Folly's' overhanging red cloak, the roses crossing the barrier-step, and the

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[197] Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002), p.72.

[198] Hanson, 'Richard Mead and"Comédiens Italiens"', p.267.

figures in front of the column at the left, all cross the barriers, echoing precedents such as Titian's own *Portrait of Gerolamo (?) Barbarigo* (c.1510, National Gallery, London), or, more elaborately, Rembrandt's *Girl at a Window* (fig. 108). This last was said to show 'fort bien qu'en Peinture on pouvoit, sans beaucoup de peine, tromper la vûe', by its early owner, Roger de Piles, who recounted the anecdote that Rembrandt had hung it at his own window so that 'tous ceux qui le virent y furent trompés', until they realised that 'l'attitude de sa servante [était] toûjours la même'.[199] De Piles's formulation recalls his characterisation of painting's role to 'séduire nos yeux', highlighting the ludic quality of such seductions.[200]

When discussing De Piles's specific conception of illusion, Thomas Puttfarken uses the analogy of the theatre, the explicit subject of Watteau's painting. He distinguishes between 'foi'—the audience's acceptance of a theatrical plot as 'reasonable and acceptable'—and delusion, where the 'eyes of the mind' as well as those 'of the body' are fooled. In the case of 'foi', the 'unity' of the context, its order or coherence, as in the ritual of play-going, contributes to the pleasurable illusion.[201] This includes the theatrical building, with its formalised (if, ultimately, permeable) 'frames' around the central action. In painting, an equivalent 'unity' is evoked through the flat support, and the refusal of a subject like Rembrandt's *Girl* to change 'attitude' from one moment to the next. The resulting oscillation between illusion and reality creates the painting's pleasure, and Watteau's images of Pierrot create a simi-

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[199] Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres, avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages…*, 2nd edn (Paris: J. Estienne, 1715), p.423; on Rembrandt's *Girl at a Window* and its reception in the eighteenth century, see Percival, *Fragonard and Fantasy Figure*, pp.139-41.

[200] Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes, composé par Mr. de Piles* (Paris: Chez Jacques Estienne, 1708), p.453

[201] Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.46-52 (p.52).

lar effect, revelling in the interaction between 'frame' and picture, which they show to be both explicitly theatrical, and implicitly seductive.[202]

Absorption and theatricality

The self-conscious theatricality of Watteau's Pierrot paintings is in implicit contrast to each of the Pierrots within them, whose position relative to the audience remains ambiguous. In this sense, both *Pierrot* and the *Comedians* reflect Thomas Postlewait and Tracy C. Davis's characterisation of theatre as 'reveal[ing] an excessive quality that is showy, deceptive, exaggerated, artificial or affected [but] simultaneously conceal[ing] or mask[ing] an inner emptiness, a deficiency or absence of that to which it refers'.[203] While attracting the viewer with their artificiality, Pierrot's ambiguity ensures that these paintings refuse clear definition, like the seductive actor whose body makes illusory meaning, but whose 'substance' remains uncertain.

This idea is traceable in the writing of Diderot, for whom Watteau was an intrinsically theatrical painter. Asking those of his readers who disagreed with him to 'ôtez à Watteau ses sites, sa couleur, la grâce de ses figures, de ses vêtements, ne voyez que la scène, et jugez', Diderot argued that, though Watteau appealed to the senses with 'couleur' and 'grâce', he was ultimately without substance.[204] The complaint reflects both William Worthen's description of the actor's 'falsity', and the distinction highlighted by Postlewait and Davis. Like the seductive actor, Watteau wins his audience over with tricks that are both illusory and, ulti-

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[202] Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.52.

[203] Thomas Postlewait and Tracy C. Davis, 'Theatricality: An Introduction', in *Theatricality*, ed. Postlewait and Davis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003), pp.1-39 (p.5).

[204] Diderot, 'Essais sur la peinture pour faire suite au salon de 1765', in *Œuvres*, ed. Vernière, IV., p.498.

mately, empty. In a discussion of Diderot, Fried calls attention to the distinction between 'exaggeration or caricature or *politesse* as such' and 'the awareness of an audience, of being beheld' thereby implied. It was to the latter, he asserts, that Diderot primarily objected.[205] Read through Fried, such theatricality suggests a desire to communicate, to convey meaning—in the dramatic context, to seduce—while also calling attention to the processes of illusion thereby involved. Conversely, absorption, with its implication of 'interiority', requires one to be unaware of any audience; neither interested in communicating, nor, indeed, in a position to do so. Ironically, as Fried argues, this apparent lack of engagement, in favour of an unstudied naturalness, is ultimately the most seductive feature of all.

Following Diderot, Fried does not discuss Watteau in detail; his only comment on *Pierrot* is his suggestion that that the central figure's 'direct but uncommunicative confrontation of the beholder' is 'rationalized both by the conventions of the full-length portrait and, more important, by the explicitly theatrical context'.[206] Rigid, and apparently uncommunicative, as they are, Watteau's Pierrots are indeed still clearly coded as 'theatrical', and I have suggested that their direct confrontation is appropriate to the *commedia* character. However, this chapter has also argued that, far from being straightforwardly performative, Watteau's Pierrot paintings actively engage with those moments where performance is on the point of breaking down—moments where the actor might in fact *become* 'uncommunicative'—and that Watteau exploits the *zanni*'s bluff honesty in the service of this idea, claiming a naturalness appropriate to the *commedia* character. Read this way, the tension between 'absorption' and 'theatricality', between self-involvement and exteriority, is important to how we approach his paintings.

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[205] Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, p.99.

[206] Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, p.33.

This tension is encapsulated in Pierrot's expression, whose apparent illegibility, particularly in the Louvre painting, is a leitmotif of scholarship. Anita Brookner considers it 'inscrutable'; Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg 'indefinable'.[207] Others have seen it as stupid, melancholy and lethargic, all characterisations that apply whether or not it is accepted as a portrait. For nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists and writers, it stood for 'loneliness' and 'detachment'.[208] These descriptions back up Norman Bryson's suggestion that Watteau's 'bodies' are antithetical to the systematised figures of Le Brun. While Le Brun's 'legible bodies', with their coded expressions and gestures, communicate meaning, Watteau's figures 'tell us nothing'.[209]

Pierrot's 'inscrutable' face thus acts as a painted inversion of the systematised 'expressions' offered to artists by Le Brun. It also contrasts with the communicative faces of Hogarth's *Laughing Audience*, which I argued also respond to Le Brun's example. Hogarth's laughing figures provide, at once, evidence of their absorption in the action they are watching, and external 'proofs' of an emotional reaction to it; their seduction, or otherwise, by the actor in front of them. *Pierrot* equally highlights the relationship between actor and audience. However, despite addressing us directly, he does not apparently make meaning. As he confronts us, he claims, at once, theatricality and naturalness and, rather than manipulating his

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[207] Anita Brookner, *Watteau*, rev. edn (London: Hamlyn, 1971), p.17; *Watteau*, ed. Grasselli and Rosenberg, cat. 69, pp.429-35 (p.434).

[208] Knowles, 'Pierrot's periodicity' in *Rococo Echo*, ed. Hyde and Scott, p.126. On *Pierrot* in the nineteenth century, see also Louisa E. Jones, *Pierrot—Watteau: A Nineteenth Century Myth* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag; Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1984); Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1980), p.133 and *La Collection La Caze: Chefs-d'œuvre des peintures des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, ed. Guillaume Faroult (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), pp.88, 114.

[209] Bryson, *Word and Image*, p.81.

body in pursuit of a passionate response, refuses any seductive interaction. Like his equivalent in *La Partie carrée*, he stands silent.

For Mary Vidal, the result is that *Pierrot* 'calls for the viewer's visual and verbal participation in its completion', and therefore 'emphasise[s] artistic performance', inviting the viewer to complete 'what has been left artfully undone'.[210] Vidal therefore considers the painting 'conversational', a reading that, as argued above, could also be applied to the relationship between actor and audience in the fair theatre. This effect, she argues, is a function of Watteau's paintings' 'spontaneous and improvised qualities'.[211] However, though this may apply to many of Watteau's paintings, *Pierrot* is not one of them. Unusually highly finished within Watteau's work, it contrasts (for example) with the 'self-conscious nonchalance' of Fragonard's 'fantasy figures', whose sketch-like appearance offers a more natural example of a painting the viewer might be expected to mentally complete.[212] While *Pierrot*'s 'frontality' solicits the viewer's response, the picture itself provides no focal point for it. Pierrot's expression simultaneously calls attention to the interaction between actor and audience and highlights that it remains incomplete. There is no seduction of the one by the other.

Indeed, it is significant that many of the adjectives commonly used to describe Pierrot's expression—stupid, melancholic, lethargic, detached, lonely—differ in import, but hinge on the common idea of disengagement, a failure to relate, in whatever way, to those around him. He may be clearly identified as an outward-facing theatrical figure, by clothing, setting and 'frontality', but Watteau's Pierrot is also vacuous, not making the actor's connection with his audience. This may reflect the painting's evocation of a transitional moment between acting and life; the space between Pierrot as meaning-making character and the act-

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[210] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.134.

[211] Vidal, *Painted Conversations*, p.134.

[212] Percival, *Fragonard and Fantasy Figure*, p.1.

or behind the illusory persona on the stage. When Watteau paints him, Pierrot is neither one nor the other. The painting focuses on the failure, or breakdown, of theatrical seduction. Instead of seeing the actor's illusory performance, we see only his emptiness.

Strolling Actresses

In March 1711, Joseph Addison wrote that '[a]n Opera may be allowed to be extravagantly lavish in its Decorations, as its only design is to gratify the Senses, and keep up an indolent Attention in the Audience'.[213] His vision of theatrical spectacle is similar to, though less anxious than, Bossuet's; however, he also noted a competing requirement, from 'Common Sense', which 'requires that there should be nothing in the Scenes and Machines which may appear Childish and Absurd'. This tension, between the physical 'senses' and 'Common Sense' reflects Addison's scepticism about contemporaneous drama's tendency to create elaborate effects from 'machines, transformations, risings and sinkings of characters, witches and chariots'.[214] It also prefigures Hogarth's 1738 print after his (lost) painting *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* (fig. 108), an expression of illusory excess, the central joke of which is its mingling of the fantastical and the mundane.

Hogarth shows a 'company of comedians', identified as such by the playbill in the bottom left, but established by the print's title as 'strolling' players. They are preparing for a performance that the playbill names as *The Devil to Pay in Heaven*, and Paulson has linked with a 1731 play by Charles Coffey (d.1745).[215] This is noted as 'the last time of acting before the Act commences'; the final opportunity to perform before the institution of the 1737 Li-

[213] [Addison], *Spectator*, No. 5 (Tuesday 6 March, 1711), in *Spectator*, ed. Bond, I., pp.22-27 (p.22-23).

[214] Avery, *London Stage*, p.cx. For illusion in fair theatres, see Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, pp.79-80.

[215] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I., cat. 156, pp.182-83 (p.182).

censing Act.[216] As Paulson notes, the playbill therefore backdates the print's action to 'around June 24, 1737', just before the Act came into force.[217] Hogarth's choice of 'strolling' actresses may even reflect its nomenclature. In March 1737, the *Daily Post* reported the complaints of actors who resented 'the present Act depending in the House of Commons call'd the Vagrant Act, for fear of being deem'd Vagabonds'.[218] Several commentators have accordingly discussed this print as a 'carefully constructed comment on the government's attempts to muzzle political satire'.[219] However, here, I want to focus on its address to seductive theatricality and, particularly, to gender.

By positioning *Strolling Actresses* at a specific moment, both before a performance and before the Act, Hogarth identifies time as an important part of the composition. He had already signalled its importance through the print's material context. The print was initially issued alongside the significantly titled *Four Times of the Day* and Hogarth continued to group the works together after this original subscription offer expired, suggesting he considered them thematically related.[220] While the *Times of the Day* is interested in temporal 'progress', from morning to night, *Strolling Actresses* focuses on moments of transformation; between an

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[216] For the Act's background, see Matthew J. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-century London Stage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002), pp.95-133; Crean, 'Stage Licensing Act', and Vincent J. Liesenfeld, *The Licensing Act of 1737* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[217] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, I. cat. 156, pp.182-83 (p.182).

[218] *Daily Post*, Tuesday 29 March, 1737, f.p.

[219] For the print as satire, see Einberg, *William Hogarth*, cat. 103, pp.168-71 (p.168) and Paulson, *Hogarth*, II., pp.128-31. For general discussion, see also Lindsay, *Hogarth*, pp.105-6; David Bindman, *Hogarth*, 2nd edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), pp.95-96; Sean Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp.22-23, 133-57; Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, cat. 69, p.136; Christina Kiaer, 'Professional Femininity in Hogarth's "Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn"', in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton: Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.76-99.

[220] Shesgreen, *Hogarth and Times-of-the-Day*, p.133.

older type of theatre and a newer, more regulated one, and between offstage and onstage identity. In this sense, it has similar concerns to the *Comedians*, except that whereas Watteau alludes to the moment after performance—Dora Panofsky dubbed the painting 'The Curtain Call'—*Strolling Actresses* focuses on the one before.[221] 'Diana' and 'Juno' are moving into dramatic mode, the latter assuming a pose that Hogarth re-used, unironically, in *Sigismunda* (fig. 46); their colleagues prepare the practicalities for performance.

Like Watteau's Pierrots, Diana looks out at the viewer. However, where *Pierrot* is perpendicular, Diana's limbs form a series of spirals around a contrapposto, reflecting Hogarth's conception of beauty as elaborated in the *Analysis*. As Jack Lindsay highlights, this also places her at the centre of the serpentine figures characterising the composition as a whole, 'catch[ing] all the lines into a centralising spiral', and marking her as the picture's dramatic and compositional centre.[222] Once again, costume exaggerates the tendencies of shape and line but, whereas Watteau emphasises *Pierrot*'s perpendiculars with metres of bulky, concealing fabric, Diana's curvaceous form is underscored by billowing drapery uncovering both breast and thigh. Thus exposed, she offers an ironic juxtaposition of mythological chastity and real-life sexual availability, a 'satirical play' upon which many have commented, and which—like the print as a whole—depends on the oscillation between her status as Diana, and as a woman of flesh and blood.[223]

Chapter Five argued that the gender ambiguity of Hogarth's *beaux* underlines their equally ambiguous position between spectacle and spectator; in *La Partie carrée* and *Pierrot*, by contrast, Watteau's anti-seductive clown is an awkward, sexless figure. Conversely, although Ireland identified '*at least* four representatives of the other sex, viz. *Apollo, Cupid,* and

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[221] Panofsky, 'Gilles or Pierrot?', p.335.

[222] Lindsay, *Hogarth*, p.106; see also Hobson, *Object of Art*, p.55.

[223] Kiaer, 'Professional Femininity', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, p.76.

two *male devils*' in it, as Diana's centrality suggests, *Strolling Actresses* is dominated by women, and their bodies. The print's specific temporal moment—preparing for a performance, rather than acting or concluding one—gives Hogarth maximum opportunity both to expose his *Actresses* physically to the viewer, and to call attention to the importance of supplementary signs, such as clothing, in mediating their transition onto the stage. Much like the *beaux*, the *Actresses* are shown to exploit these signs' signifying potential, and they, too, implicate gender: the true identity of the masculine-clad Ganymede at far left is suggested by 'his' feminine, and exposed, thigh, which also provides a visual link with Diana at the centre. As in *The Laughing Audience* and the *Beggar's Opera*, theatricality therefore is shown to disrupt clear categories through an ever-shifting play of surface signs.[224] However, whereas the *beaux*'s attempt at seduction is ultimately undermined by their physical appearance, *Strolling Actresses* links its own seductive theatricality specifically with sexual desirability, and specifically, as Christina Kiaer has argued, with 'the perception of Woman as a figure of pretence and deception, the consummate actress'.[225]

This reflects Gill Perry's description of how eighteenth-century actresses were perceived, as 'flirtatious, beguiling or enthralling—[…] seducing or engaging the attention of the male and female audience'.[226] This specifically sexualised reading of their seductive appeal can be counterposed to the equally sexualised failure of communication in *La Partie carrée*, with its ambiguously gendered Pierrot, but also to the successful seduction modelled by

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[224] For breeches roles and theatrical cross-dressing, see Beth H. Friedman-Romell, 'Breaking the Code: Toward a Reception Theory of Theatrical Cross-Dressing in Eighteenth-century London', *Theatre Journal*, 47:4, (December, 1995), 459-79 and, for a discussion of similar issues in contemporaneous France, Cohen, 'Masquerade as Mode', in *Clothes That Wear Us*, ed. Munns and Richards.

[225] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, I. p.158; Kiaer, 'Professional Femininity', in *Other Hogarth*, ed. Fort and Rosenthal, pp.76- 99. Kiaer also comments on gender identity in the print, pp.87-91.

[226] Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.7.

Lavinia Fenton in the *Beggar's Opera*. Like Fenton, Diana, whom Ireland dubbed a 'fascinating female', unites sexual and actorly seduction, but does so through a flirtatious oscillation between surface and substance: between her identity both as mythological goddess and as actress. It is a similar oscillation to the one that underpins the *Comedians*, but whereas Watteau's 'substance' is the ultimate vacuity of the performer, the reality underpinning the *Actresses* is the desirable female body.

Like the *Beggar's Opera*, *Strolling Actresses* therefore links theatrical and sexual seduction. However, while the earlier painting shows that seduction to work laterally, between the actress and the Duke, *Strolling Actresses*, through Diana's frontal address, implicates the viewer. It is therefore curious that, in his list of male figures, Ireland should have missed the Actaeon-like figure peering through the rafters. A reflection of the (male) viewer himself, this figure recalls Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain*, and his ambiguous position both in 'our' world and the world of the theatre. Rather than merely hinting at sexual voyeurism, as does Watteau's red chalk man, this 'Actaeon' conflates it with spectatorship itself. In the process, the divisions between theatrical illusion and sexual appeal slip further away: most of these actresses are not performing, but instead undertaking everyday tasks. The parallel dissolution of certainties is mirrored in the destruction of the theatre space: from the ordered stratification of types and seats in *The Laughing Audience* to the chaotic diagonals and shifting planes of the crumbling barn, depicted (in Antal's words), not in the restrained classicism of Le Brun, but in the idiom of 'a whirling, flowing, extremely rich baroque'.[227] The theatre has spilled into the world.

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[227] Antal, *Hogarth and his Place*, p.27.

Conclusion

In remembering the conception of *Sigismunda* (fig. 46), Hogarth recalled that he had sought to 'draw tears from the spectator […] and touch the heart through the eye, as the player does through the ear'.[228] He therefore acknowledged a commonality of purpose between the painter and the actor. Each creates an illusion in order to effect a physical response in the onlooker. This idea apparently appealed to both Hogarth and Watteau: each took dramatic seduction and the theatrical world as their starting points for major works of art. Chapter Five argued that Hogarth's address to audiences calls attention to the physical effects of successful seduction, whilst also highlighting the range of circumstances—from class to viewpoint—upon which that seduction is contingent. In so doing, Hogarth reveals the theatre's ostensibly firm spatial demarcations to be permeable: both the fops in the boxes and the 'children of Nature' in the pit perform for those around them. Watteau's *Partie carrée* is more explicit, showing theatrical costume and the logic of the stage intruding into the social context of aristocratic gallantry; an ironic inversion of the situation in formal theatres, where, until the mid-eighteenth century, aristocratic *galands* might sit on literal stages.

Conversely, this chapter began from those moments in which the 'player', like the painter, seems to acknowledge the seductive frameworks within which they work. In addressing the audience directly, Watteau's Pierrots break the 'fourth wall' and paradoxically call attention to the theatre's illusionistic trappings, while claiming a directness and authenticity antithetical to it. *Pierrot* and the *Comedians* pinpoint the moment when this paradox is most pointed; when theatrical illusion is on the point of breaking down, or being built up. *Pierrot* hovers awkwardly between our world and his own, a lumbering figure whose awk-

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[228] William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by himself…* , ed. John Bowyer Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), p.54; De Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, p.453. On the 'theatricality' of *Sigismunda* itself, see Marcia Pointon, *William Hogarth's "Sigismunda" in Focus* (London: Tate, 2000), pp.19-22.

wardness ostensibly denies artificiality but whose identity as a stock *zanni* ultimately reasserts it. Meanwhile, rather than blurring the boundaries between actor and audience, as in the works discussed in Chapter Five, the *Comedians* introduces an elaborate, self-conscious series of devices at once mediatory and distancing, ultimately reinforcing the divisions between our world and theirs.

Watteau's interest in these devices reflects his early training as a decorative painter: the framing devices of the stage were familiar from the illusionistic visual context of the arabesque, and his interest in theatrical seduction hinged on this. Like the arabesque form itself, the *Comedians,* in particular, calls playful attention to its own fictive nature—its status *as* a painting. At the same time, in so doing, it claims to offer the kind of clear, direct address that Hogarth's *Laughing Audience* and *Beggar's Opera* teasingly deny. This paradox is encapsulated in *Pierrot*'s frank address to the audience; at once direct, and unreadable, and an exemplar of the actor's combination of exteriority and emptiness. Though he gazes out at us, this time he does not seduce. As a result, whereas Hogarth's address to his external viewer in *The Laughing Audience* and the *Beggar's Opera* is just one aspect of a much more complicated interplay between diegetic audiences and actors, Watteau's theatrical figures depend on us for their meaning. *The Laughing Audience* makes the actor a void, inviting us to imagine the stimulus by looking at the reaction (and, in the process, to consider our own implication in the '*theatrum mundi*'). Conversely, both *Pierrot* and the *Comedians* require the viewer to fill the space where the audience would be; their fictions depend on our presence there.

While acknowledging possible points of practical connection between Watteau's work and Hogarth's—the *fête galante* and the 'outdoor' *Before* and *After*; *La Diseuse d'aventure* and the *Harlot*—this thesis has not primarily argued for a relationship of influence between the two artists. However, Hogarth's known connection with Mead, his active interest in the theatre, the similar compositional placement of the equally outward-facing 'Diana' and 'Pier-

rot', and the paintings' shared interest in moments before or after theatrical performance, all suggest that Watteau's *Comedians* may have been in Hogarth's mind when he was conceiving *Strolling Actresses*. Yet while Watteau's painting clearly 'frames' its central drama—whether with implicitly theatrical architecture or with trees recalling the arabesque—the *Actresses* appear in a dilapidated barn, within which, and to the edges of which, actors teem. Though the actor's appeal to the audience is still the central device, this time that actor is explicitly sexually, rather than dramatically, seductive—a memory of the similarly sexualised Lavinia Fenton, and of *Southwark Fair*'s drummer girl. Whereas *Pierrot*'s ungainly gender-ambiguity seems to underscore his anti-seductive nature, Diana's partially unclothed form flirtatiously demands our attention. In so doing, she calls attention—in a manner more explicit than *The Laughing Audience*'s *beaux*—to the instability of illusion itself.

However, as Diana looks out at us, she is also looked at herself, as Pierrot is not. The male figure peeking through the barn roof is a kind of teasing equivalent to the print's imagined (male) viewer; a voyeur who, once recognised, signals to the onlooker that 'he' too has been caught looking. At this point, the picture's perspective seems to swing round, offering something more like the angle offered by *The Laughing Audience*, or of Watteau's *Man Lifting a Curtain*, who is at once spectator and (to us) spectacle. At the same time, *Strolling Actresses* underscores the temporary nature of this performance. As the attentive viewer can see, the candle lit by 'Flora' is on the point of setting fire to the whole construction, at which point this 'theatre' will crumble to ashes.

Conclusion

'A wanton kind of chace':

Seduction in Watteau and Hogarth

In a breach of promise trial in 1868, it fell to the Counsel for the Prosecution to describe the alleged seduction:

> Swiftly fled each honeyed hour
> Spent with this unmanly male
> Camberwell became a bower
> Peckham an Arcadian vale
> Breathing concentrated otto
> An existence à la Watteau.[1]

The trial was the titular *Trial by Jury*, the first of W. S. Gilbert (1836-1911) and Arthur Sullivan's (1842-1900) comic 'Savoy Operas'. The story is the long established one: an 'unmanly male' pressing himself on a guileless girl, in a 'place apart' from the everyday. Yet, despite invoking Watteau, this vision of bucolic outdoor courtship has more of *Tom Jones* about it, than the *fête galante*. The trial's plaintiff is a fortune-hunter; her seducer a fickle young man; the setting far from Cythera, in the sprawling suburbs of London.[2]

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[1] *The Complete Annotated Gilbert & Sullivan*, ed. Ian Bradley, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.97.

[2] On the increased suspicion of breach of promise cases during this period, see Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp.92-95.

Gilbert's lines speak to Watteau's position in the nineteenth-century imagination. The English taste noted by Count Rothenburg in 1744 still endured—Henry Andrews (1794-1868), who died the year *Trial by Jury* premiered, had built a career on Watteauesque pastiches (fig. 110), and Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-70), had long been assiduously acquiring Watteau's originals.[3] However, in 1839, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63) described visiting *Cythère* at the Louvre, where the painting's 'splendid dandies, ever-smirking, turning out their toes, with broad blue ribbons to tie up their crooks and their pigtails' clearly struck him as at once charming and faintly ridiculous.[4]

Thackeray's visit to the Louvre came a few decades before France began seriously revisiting Watteau. However, from mid-century, French reassessments of the eighteenth-century artist's work came, as we have seen, from the writings of the Goncourts (self-declared lone voices against the establishment) but also, increasingly, from the Third Empire itself, which 'unified [eighteenth-century] arts into the national heritage, the French *patrimoine*'.[5] In 1869, Louis La Caze (1798-1869), who had previously refused 300,000 francs for *Pierrot* (fig. 104) from the marquess of Hertford, bequeathed eight Watteaus to the nation, thus adding materially to the Louvre's holdings.[6]

By contrast to these re-assessments of Watteau, Hogarth, increasingly discussed in this period via the adjectival 'Hogarthian', clearly signified 'comedy', implicitly of a ribald,

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[3] See John Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Pictures: III., French Before 1815* (London: Wallace Collection, 1989), pp.9-16.

[4] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Paris Sketch Book* [1840], in *The Oxford Thackeray*, ed. George Saintsbury, 17 vols (London; New York; Toronto: Henry Frowde; Oxford University Press, 1908), II., pp.42-61 (p.59), ('On the French School of Painting').

[5] Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989), p.142.

[6] Ingamells, *Wallace Collection*, p.14; *La Collection La Caze: Chefs-d'œuvre des peintures des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, ed. Guillaume Faroult (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), p.24. For the rococo revival in France, see Silverman, *Art Nouveau*.

satiric nature. This was true both in France—where he was popularly linked with Henry Fielding and David Garrick—and England, where Charles Lamb described Benjamin Robert Haydon's (1786-1846) *Chairing the Member* (1828, Tate, London) as 'true broad Hogarthian fun'.[7] Two years later, in 1831, Hartley Coleridge (1796-1849) claimed a specifically national identity for such humour, prefiguring the equivalent French appropriation of Watteau by describing Hogarth as among 'the most thoroughly and exclusively English' artists in the world.[8] Throughout this century, and the one that followed, Watteau and Hogarth were recontextualised, and redefined, and the assumptions identified in my Introduction concretised: Hogarth the vivid, satiric engraver; Watteau the delightful painter of the seductions of a lost *ancien régime*; both quintessentially of their nations.

This thesis has juxtaposed the work of Hogarth and Watteau, and asked how each addressed seduction, a key concern both for them and for eighteenth-century England and France broadly. Addressing the period of these artists' combined lifespans, 1684-1764, I have placed seduction in the context of contemporaneous cross-Channel aesthetic, cultural, social and political developments. These include, in aesthetics, the development of the rococo, and of British art as an independent school, in the context of shifting models of patronage and art theory. This was accompanied by the growth of both London and Paris, and a concomitant expansion in trade and commercial infrastructure.

It was also a period of change in governance: English aristocrats and MPs continued to debate the implications of the 1688 'Glorious Revolution', while the death of the ageing

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[7] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], 'Hogarthian, adj.' http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/87581?redirectedFrom=hogarthian [accessed 3 February, 2017]; Michel Polge, 'William Hogarth: sa réception par les français au XVIII[e] siècle, apprécié à partir des périodiques de ce temps', *The British Art Journal*, VII:2 (Autumn, 2006), 12-23 (p.12); Charles Lamb to Benjamin Robert Haydon, 12 September, 1829, in *Letters,* ed. E. V. Lucas, 3 vols (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1935), III. p.228.

[8] [Hartley Coleridge], 'Ignoramus on the Fine Arts, No. III: Hogarth, Bewick, and Green', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 30:186 (October, 1831), pp.655-65 (p.655).

and despotic Louis XIV, in 1715, marked the end of a seventy-two year reign in France, inaugurating the Regency, and the (temporary) transition of royal power from Versailles to Paris. Interlinked issues of morality, sexuality, and politics were therefore potent, and seduction provided a ready prism through which to view them. In situating seduction within this early eighteenth-century cross-Channel context, this thesis has considered its implications in both France and England, and brought together divergent fields of research, and areas of study, often addressed in isolation.

At the same time, I have juxtaposed two artists, one French, one English (latterly, British), drawing on the precedents of the museum pairing, and Caroline Arscott's *Interlacings.*[9] In putting these artists together, I have suggested that juxtaposition itself can offer another way of approaching 'canonical' artists, enabling us to look at oft-studied figures—and their works—afresh. I have demonstrated how this juxtaposition might function, by putting together Hogarth and Watteau. Unlike Arscott's pairing of the coevals William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, I have chosen figures whose lives did not significantly overlap, and whose methods, outlooks and contexts have often been considered opposed. Rather than gloss over such points of difference, I have shown points of contrast to be as important as points of comparison. This applies equally to approaching these artists, and to understanding seduction, the lens through which I have viewed them.

However, both the lives and the art of Watteau and Hogarth do suggest productive points of comparison, and this thesis has revealed ways in which they lean towards and attract each other. Through juxtaposition, I have shown that the historiographically established assumptions surrounding both Watteau and Hogarth can be refined. Rather than working entirely within an imaginative *locus amoenus*, Watteau engaged with both city and country,

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[9] Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

and did so with an eyes-open, indeed often ironic tone. Hogarth was a painter, as much as a satiric engraver, who considered the philosophical implications of the *fête galante* as well as its humorous possibilities. Rather than taking 'Britophil' at his word, I have built on work by Robin Simon and, before him, Frederick Antal, to demonstrate that Hogarth thought deeply about the world beyond the British Isles.[10] I have also contributed to an increasing body of literature placing Watteau in the context of his time, bringing him out of the world of the *fêtes galantes* and the court of Versailles—into Paris, London and the full cultural, philosophical and political currents of eighteenth-century life.[11]

At the same time, in approaching these artists' specific address to seduction, this thesis has contributed to scholarly understanding of this subject's importance to both artists' aesthetic thought. It has addressed Watteau's most fertile years, between the creation of *Cythère* in 1717, and his final project, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, in 1720-21. On the English side, it has discussed Hogarth's most concentrated period of development and experimentation: from *Before* and *After* in 1730-31 to *Marriage à la Mode* in the early 1740s. However, it has also read both artists' work in the framework of their whole careers, addressing Watteau's 'arabesques' of c.1705-9, as well as Hogarth's late *Sigismunda* (1759). It has therefore considered them, and their address to seduction, in both depth and in breadth, and across the Anglo-French context of the early eighteenth century. This Conclusion summarises my findings, and

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[10] Frederick Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: the Rise of the Arts in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007).

[11] Notably, Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985); Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sarah Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2006); Georgia Cowart, 'De la fête monarchique à la fête galante dans "Les Plaisirs du bal" de Watteau', trans. Guy Spielmann, *Dix-huitième siècle*, 49 (2017), 247-61.

returns to the research issues raised in the Introduction. What were the implications of seduction in the eighteenth century? What was its significance for Hogarth and Watteau respectively? And how has my methodology, juxtaposition, illuminated these questions?

Seduction

Eighteenth-century seduction extended beyond the sexual context in which we might naturally place it today. However, sexuality often still underpinned how it was understood, even within such apparently asexual frames of reference as politics, commerce and aesthetic illusion. This intersected with an emphasis on morality: seduction was a deviation from the right path to the wrong one.

Over and above its address to sexuality, seduction was almost always understood as an encounter between genders, the seduced in a passive, feminine role and the seducer an implicitly male predator, and this was true whether or not there was a difference in the actual genders involved. This reflected an established narrative of sexual seduction being effected by men upon gullible women at the point 'when the *Devil* Tempts most, and when the Immaturity of their Age and Reason renders them incapable of making a Vigorous Defence of their *Chastity*'.[12] This narrative was itself focused and developed by eighteenth-century English writers including Nicholas Rowe, Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson. At the same time, women were often considered inherently deceptive and illusionistic, and, therefore, potentially seductive in themselves. In addition to the coquettish flirt, extracting foolish promises from equally foolish men, worrisome female seducers included sex workers approaching

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[12] [Roger L'Estrange], 'On the effect of Her Majesties Proclamation against Vice, &c…', *The Observator*, No. 94 (Saturday 13 - Thursday 17 March, 1703), f.p.

streetwalkers, and shop-girls in search of a sale. For many, good governance was therefore partly a matter of controlling and channelling women's seductive powers.

There was a tonal distinction in how seduction was understood in eighteenth-century France and England. France (in general) was less morally condemnatory; more inclined to view seduction through the amoral (if not necessarily *im*moral) prism of the visual arts. Nonetheless, the work of the French Watteau often resonates with the English Hogarth, and vice versa. This thesis has approached them in three Parts, each addressing a different seductive space: landscape; city, and theatre. However, it has also identified issues that have cut across these spaces, being of particular importance both to how seduction was understood generally, and to how it was understood by these artists. These are: temporality, spatial 'progress', and the distinction between 'show' and interior 'substance'. Each issue has run throughout the thesis, but has also remained largely distinct from the others. This section draws them together, showing how the three 'seductive spaces' framing this thesis were densely interrelated.

'Before and After'

Eighteenth-century seduction was a temporal issue. Once effected, it marked a (theoretically) definitive distinction in the protagonists' lives, between their existence as it had been 'before', and as it would be 'after'. This was particularly clear in sexual seduction, in which context, as the seducer Lothario recalls in *The Fair Penitent*, its success signalled the end of an interest in, or desire for, the seduced object; when 'the Morn and cold Indifference came; / When fully sated with the luscious Banquet, / I hastily took leave'.[13] For the seduced, mean-

[13] Nicholas Rowe, *The Fair Penitent: A Tragedy*, ed. Malcolm Goldstein ([1703] Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), I.i., ll.162-64, p.13.

while, sexual seduction was a transition from innocence to experience, and a reminder (in the words of Richardson's *Clarissa*), '[o]n what a crisis, on what a point of time, may one's fate depend!'.[14] Though (particularly later in the century) institutions such as London's Magdalen Hospital offered forgiveness to 'fallen women' who had been so seduced—recalibrating the relationship between 'before' and 'after' as a sin followed by redemption—this still depended on the division into 'before' and 'after' upon which seduction was premised. The difference was a third stage relying on the prior experience of the first two: innocence to experience; experience to salvation.

As a result, seduction was understood as a sequence of events, and so in narrative terms. It therefore resonated with the burgeoning form of the novel, in which so many seduction stories were told. However, it also had implications for the representation of narrative in the visual arts, a problem discussed both by the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury and the abbé du Bos. For both, the artist's challenge was to select and represent the most appropriate action within a longer narrative sequence. When Hogarth represented sexual seduction in *Before* and *After*, he chose to depict it, in opposition to Shaftesbury's recommendations, in pendants—two actions, not one. Meanwhile, Watteau's depiction of seduction in *Cythère* shows a line of figures moving, from right to left, through courtship's successive stages. Though confining himself to a single canvas, he still suggests his subject's narrative qualities.

Seduction's address to temporality also implicated psychology. In showing persuasion to be followed by consent, and consent by regret, conventional seduction stories focused on the seduced's successive emotional stages. However, they also highlighted issues of speed. The seduced was imagined to respond almost instinctually to the seducer, privileging immediate physical response over considered (rational) thought: Defoe's description of win-

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[14] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa; or, the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross ([1747-8] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p.373.

dow-shoppers finding themselves 'unexpectedly surpriz'd with some fine thing' evokes sudden rapture.[15] However, in sexual seduction, speed should not preclude persuasion. The seducer had to secure (some kind of) consent, so distinctions of speed marked an equally important distinction between seduction and rape; the contrast at issue in the move between the 'indoor' and 'outdoor' versions of *Before* and *After*. Sexual seduction (particularly) should be neither too slow, nor too fast.

These issues also characterise the non-sexual context of Hogarth's *Laughing Audience* (1733), where the degree to which each theatrical spectator is 'seduced' by the appeals of the unseen actor runs from the automatic (implicitly, immediate) response of the eponymous 'children of nature', to the affected, unnatural (lack of) reaction of the *beaux*. The variety of responses speaks to a distinction between who these people 'are' and how they present themselves (a question of 'show' and 'substance' addressed below). However, it also implies a distinction of speed: the laughing figures' response is an immediate cause and effect, a 'this-then-that', and a transient reaction to their temporary acceptance of an equally temporary illusion. The *beaux* operate on a different basis entirely.

Seduction's address to narrative, time, and to psychology appealed to Hogarth, particularly as he developed his 'progress' format. Itself a narrative form, the 'progress' similarly depended on dividing events into cause and effect; 'before' and 'after'. He signalled these divisions' finality through the movement from one image to the next. So it was not coincidental that his 'progress' format began with the twin (sexual) seduction scenes, *Before* and *After*. Their titles, given by Hogarth himself, signal the importance of seductive temporality, which is similarly important to such later moments as the 'before' and 'after' of the first plate

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[15] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters…* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1726), p.105.

of the *Harlot* (1732).[16] Here, the meeting between Moll Hackabout and Mother Needham marks Moll's transition from innocent, rural 'before' to fallen, urban 'after'.

By highlighting seduction's importance in the development of Hogarth's 'progress', this thesis has contributed to discussions of the form.[17] However, it has also shown that Hogarth's interest in seductive temporality extended beyond it. *Sigismunda* focuses on the tragic moment 'after' seduction—Sigismunda mourning her lover's death—while signalling the 'before' through the cameo portrait of her father. It therefore exemplifies seduction's temporal structure, while also calling attention to psychology through its focus on Sigismunda's distressed reminiscences. The very different *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* (1738) similarly hinges on its narrative position— this time, the moment 'before' the actresses' attempt at theatrical seduction has begun. Conversely, *The Laughing Audience* shows the result of such a seduction—cause and effect, if not 'before' and 'after'. Despite beginning with the sexualised *Before* and *After*, Hogarth's interest in seductive temporality therefore encompassed theatricality, illusion, and the boundaries between them, all expressed through this dyad; 'this' then 'that'.

Watteau's *Le Faux-pas* (c.1716-17) and *La Proposition embarrassante* (c.1715-20) share with (particularly) the 'indoor' *Before* and *After* an interest in those moments where would-be seducers seek to progress too quickly from 'before' to 'after', rather than focusing on the process of orderly narrative sequence—the progress of persuasion. Narrative temporality is similarly implicated in *Cythère*, in which individual couples each encapsulate the 'before' of the couple in front of them, and the 'after' of the couple behind. The sequence runs right to

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[16] John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: J. & J. Boydell, 1812), III., p.21.

[17] Notably David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825* (Berkeley: Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1973), pp.3-4, pp.298-339 and Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), pp.35-47.

left, from persuasion to consent and, finally, to embarkation: crossing over to the next stage. However, whereas Hogarth was interested in the distinction between 'this' and 'that', 'before' and 'after', Watteau dwells on the moments of transition eschewed or effaced by the English artist: the 'during'.

This is encapsulated in the woman stepping across the threshold of Gersaint's shop in *L'Enseigne.* She is poised midway between our world and the boutique; a seductive 'place apart' and a rarefied luxury setting in contrast to the bustling street on which it sits. The *Italian Comedians* (c.1720) occupy a similar space between theatricality and the everyday. Such 'places apart'—shop, theatre, love island—dominate Watteau's work, all overseen by mediatory figures (shopkeepers, actors, aristocrats) who invite the traveller to cross the threshold. Poised momentarily between two states, and between two worlds, the pink-clad woman and her cognates highlight both the distinctions between these spaces, and to the *process* of stepping from one to the other. As a result, Watteau's focus is not so much on the Hogarthian contrast between one temporal stage and the next, but rather on the moments *between* those stages, states of uncertainty, unfulfillment and incompleteness. In *Cythère*, the psychological process of seduction is a movement through pictorial space; in attempting a shortcut, the 'grabbing man' of *Le Faux-pas* acts counter to its prescriptions.

Although Watteau, like Hogarth, emphasises seduction's address to temporality, he is therefore distinct from the English artist in considering it a process; a 'duration', not a binary 'before' and 'after'. By juxtaposing these artists, this thesis has been able to call attention to such distinctions, and therefore to aspects of each of them that might be less obvious in a monographic study. Indeed, by specifically considering how Watteau addresses seductive temporality in the light of Hogarth's 'progress' form, I have been able to re-examine early

scholarly and literary writing on the French artist.[18] If, as Louis Fourcaud wrote, *Cythère* is a 'tableau de pur enchantement', exerting a seductive appeal on the viewer to match the seductions of the couples it depicts, this is partly because seduction itself was important to Watteau's thought.[19] At the same time, when Watteau's interest in seduction is juxtaposed with Hogarth's, it becomes clear that Watteau's interest was not primarily in 'before' and 'after', but in the next problem I address: seductive geography.

Making progress

As well as implicating time, seduction also called attention to space, an idea Hogarth himself expressed in one of the most quoted passages from *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753). Describing the eye's enjoyment in 'winding walks, and serpentine rivers', Hogarth considered these examples of an 'intricacy of form' that '*leads the eye a wanton kind of chace*, and from the pleasure that gives the mind, intitles it to the name of beautiful'.[20] The eroticism of this aesthetic pronouncement, based on the meaning of 'wanton' as 'sexually promiscuous', has been noted.[21]

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[18] For example, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1873-80; Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1896); Virgile Josz, *Watteau: Mœurs du XVIII^e siècle*, 3rd edn (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1903) and Camille Mauclair, 'La Maladie de Watteau', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XL (June - December, 1921), 100-8.

[19] Louis D. Fourcaud, 'Antoine Watteau: I. Vers la joie', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, IX (January - June, 1901), 87-100 (p.90).

[20] William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson ([1753] New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), p.33.

[21] James Grantham Turner, '"A Wanton Kind of Chace": Display as Procurement in "A Harlot's Progress" and its Reception', in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.38-61; *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], 'wanton, adj. and n.', http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225544?rskey=kDoAEn&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid [accessed 14 June 2018], 3a.

Hogarth imagines the artist as a seducer, 'permanently concerned,' as Frédéric Ogée writes, with the '"leading" of perception' from one thing to the next, through pleasurably 'winding' routes.[22] Indeed, though *Before* and *After*'s direct address is to time, Hogarth's multi-image form also requires his viewer to move from one picture to the next.

This reflects 'seduction's' etymology. To seduce is to 'lead astray', and, although, in this formulation, seduction still implies immorality or (sexual) transgression (as suggested by 'wanton'), the movement from an orthodox path to a 'winding walk' is also (initially) pleasant. Indeed, while the serpentine 'line of beauty', with its connotations of aesthetic seduction, has since become linked with Hogarth and his *Analysis*, as Ronald Paulson notes, '[i]t began, of course, as a decorative device, without meaning, in Rococo art and design'.[23] Only Hogarth, he argues, would 'fil[l] it with meaning, both aesthetic and moral'. By juxtaposing Watteau with Hogarth, this thesis has complicated this analysis. The serpentine line dominates Watteau's *Cythère*, his military pictures—*Le Défilé* (1709) and *Recruits going to join the Regiment* (c.1715-16)—and even the compositional arrangement of *L'Enseigne*, in all of which contexts it is far from meaningless. Moreover, although Watteau certainly began using it in decorative work, this thesis has built on work by Robert Tomlinson and Thomas Crow to argue for a stronger link between these early productions and his easel painting.[24]

This link extends beyond the serpentine line to encompass broader aesthetic issues. Designed for elegant interiors, the arabesque is an inherently spatial form, and its pairing of overlapping frames and narrative elements also makes it inherently illusory. Watteau's paint-

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[22] Frédéric Ogée, 'Introduction', in *The Dumb Show: Image and Society in the Works of William Hogarth*, ed. Ogée (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), pp.1-26 (p.19).

[23] Ronald Paulson, 'The Artist, The Beautiful Girl, and the Crowd: the Case of Thomas Rowlandson', *The Georgia Review*, 31:1 (Spring, 1977), 121-59 (p.129).

[24] Robert Tomlinson, *La Fête Galante: Watteau et Marivaux* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1981); Crow, *Painters and Public Life*.

ings are similarly preoccupied with seductive, illusory space and it is not, therefore, accidental that so many should represent courtship activities and sexual seduction in the outdoor spaces native to the decorative form. By re-asserting a link between the early work and the later, this thesis has shown that Watteau's understanding of seduction was intimately tied to issues of space and illusion. Meanwhile, in making this argument alongside an address to the Hogarthian '*wanton kind of chace*', it has called attention to points of synergy between the two artists' thought.

Watteau's interest in seductive space is encapsulated in *Cythère*, a vision of courtship which imaginatively 'locates' love on a mythological island, to which one travels, and which offers its pilgrims a gradually undulating landscape through which to move. The ever-shifting perspective facilitated by this setting reflects the lovers' own psychological transition, from one stage of courtship to the next. Indeed, Cythera's apparent weightlessness, and its playful, serpentine form—reminiscent of the arabesque's curvilinear tendrils—suggests that this landscape is psychological as much as geographical. Watteau invites his viewers to wander through it themselves, allowing their eyes to be surprised and delighted by its twists. The serpentine forms of the arabesque similarly 'seduce' the viewer, inviting both eye and mind to navigate its paths.

Rooted in the decorative form, Watteau's seductions are therefore based around pleasure; an amoral fusion of psychological and pictorial space rooted in his adaptation of the decorative context to easel painting. However, for many of his contemporaries, seduction's address to space was an issue of (public) morality. Pierre de Marivaux and Daniel Defoe worried about those urban seducers who encouraged city-travellers to take the wrong path, special castigation being reserved for 'the *Old Bawd* that keeps the House and instructs the Young Wicked Ones in the *Ways of Uncleanness*'.[25] 'The enterance [sic] into [the bawd's]

[25] [L'Estrange], 'On the effect…', *Observator*, f.p.

House,' as one writer observed, 'quite Contradicts the Scripture; for it is very streight and narrow, yet it is the very high Road to Distruction'.[26] The 'streight and narrow' reverses Hogarth's 'winding walks', but the metaphor emphasises seduction's spatiality: crossing a threshold; deviating from a path. These were movements that many feared might implicate society as a whole, making seduction an issue with ramifications extending beyond the individual. As Isaac Maddox (1697-1759) warned, 'the *Many*, the head-strong Multitude, are too violently impelled by their Passions to see and hear, and will take the *broad Path*', following others' examples.[27] Moral and sexual deviations (the 'harlot's' or 'rake's progress') were therefore counterposed to models of steady, virtuous progress: the 'apprentice's guide', or the advice for tradesmen offered by Defoe and Jacques Savary.

Despite rooting his own aesthetics in the 'winding walk', Hogarth actively engaged with this moralistic context. His 'Progress' form showed how deviations and missteps could lead the unwary towards ruin, while the trade-card he produced for his sisters (c.1730) imagines city commerce partly through its moral dangers. In creating it, he was repeating the project of Watteau's own *Enseigne*, another artist's offering to a friend, intended to support them 'dans les premières années de [son] établissement', in a world where family and friendship were essential to avoiding destruction.[28] He was also, like Watteau, contributing to the city's material fabric, creating an artwork that was simultaneously (and in his case, perhaps predominantly), a commercial object.

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[26] [Anonymous], *The Constables Hue and Cry After Whores & Bawds, &c…* (London: Printed for John Smith [1701]), p.7.

[27] Isaac Maddox, *The Expediency of preventive Wisdom, a Sermon…*, 3rd edn (London: Printed by H. Woodfall, 1751), p.35.

[28] Edmé-François Gersaint, *Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau* [1744], in *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg (Paris: Hermann, 1984), pp.29-44 (p.37).

Show and substance

Seduction took time to achieve, and marked a temporal break between 'before' and 'after'. It often also implied a distraction or deviation from one path to another. Many in the eighteenth century also had clear ideas about the nature of the seducer bringing this about. They deployed superior skills or resources to win over their dupe, and often (particularly in sexual contexts) built on an (implicitly) aristocratic education to do so. Their chief weapon was skill in rhetoric. As Sir Richard Bulstrode (1610-1711) noted, 'Original Sin came first out of the Mouth by Speaking […since] the first Use *Eve* made of her Tongue was to talk with the Tempter'.[29] Rhetoric's power is emphasised in *Cythère*, where men lean into their mistresses' ears. Here—as, apparently, in the 'outdoor' *Before*—it is imagined as an aristocratic activity. However, such skills were also associated with the superior education and worldliness of the male sex generally, as bemoaned in *Woman Triumphant* ('What Wiles do they use! What snares do they lay! […] What Flatteries do they Address us with!').[30]

Indeed, this thesis has shown seductive rhetoric to cross class barriers. Talk is an important factor in the seductions enacted within Gersaint's shop, where the shopkeepers are no aristocrats, but bourgeois mimicking the *mien* of their clients. Mother Needham—an urban bawd presenting as a fine lady—similarly offers 'smoothing language' to her dupe in *A Harlot's Progress*, while *The Laughing Audience* implies the presence of the most explicitly mimetic figure of all: a rhetorically skilled actor. Though neither 'genuinely' upper-class nor (necessarily) male, each of these these seducers draw on points of structural power (age, skill, experience) to gain the upper hand through talk. By juxtaposing Hogarth with Watteau,

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[29] Sir Richard Bulstrode, 'Of Company and Conversation', in *Miscellaneous essays…Publish'd, with a preface, by his son Whitlocke Bulstrode*, ed. Whitlocke Bulstrode (London: Printed for Jonas Browne, 1715) pp.1-86 (pp.2-3).

[30] [Anonymous], *Woman Triumphant: Or, the Excellency of the Female Sex…* (London: Printed and sold by Charles Stokes, 1721), p.vi.

this thesis has highlighted the importance of talk to both artists, building on the precedent established in Watteau studies by Mary Vidal.[31] However, it has also suggested that Watteau's interest in 'conversation' was inflected by questions of seduction, as well as sociability.

The rhetorical skills of shopkeeper, bawd and actor—and, indeed, aristocrat—were also underpinned by impressive exterior displays, highlighting another key issue, the difficulty of distinguishing between truth and illusion. Words and phrases could prove ambiguous, promises false, and it was always possible retrospectively to redefine their meaning, especially if the dupe 'believe[d her seducer to be as] sincere, open and undisguised as her Self'.[32] Problems of rhetoric and outward display therefore also encapsulated broader concerns about the relationship between show and substance—understood as both a moral and an aesthetic issue. These were often embedded in two major early eighteenth-century contexts: the expanding city, and the theatre (the seductive spaces addressed in Parts II and III of the thesis). Richard Sennett has shown that the former was accompanied 'by both the appearance of many unclassifiable people, materially alike but not cognizant of their similarities, and the loosening of traditional social rankings'.[33] No longer confined to the upper classes, fine fabrics and accessories could signal any number of contexts and intentions; exteriors were almost inherently deceptive.

Deception was, of course, explicitly at issue in theatres (both formal and informal), in both France and England. The potential for both good and ill of this enduringly popular medium continued to be debated during this period, with a focus on the problems posed by the fluidity between reality and representation, and the seductive effects of the latter on a

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[31] Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century France* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992).

[32] [Anonymous], *Woman Triumphant*, p.xi.

[33] Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1978), p.48.

gullible audience. Thus, Steele's complaint of 1712 that 'when a Scene tending to Procreation is acted, you see the whole Pit in such a Chuckle, and old Letchers, with Mouths open, stare at the loose Gesticulations on the stage with shameful Earnestness' recalls Jeremy Collier's warning of the 1690s that 'Young people particularly, should not entertain themselves with a Lewd picture; especially when 'tis drawn by a Masterly Hand'.[34]

These debates also resulted in an (often horrified) fascination with specifically urban figures such as the bawd and, to a lesser extent, the shopkeeper. They nominally represented a contrast between 'illegitimate' and 'legitimate' forms of urban seduction; as Malachy Postlethwayt wrote in the middle of the eighteenth century, the only route to superiority in national manufacture was '*the art of seducing […] the consumer of every kind*'.[35] However, both operated similarly, offering an appealing surface masking their true intentions. The difference was that, while the bawd borrowed the trappings of the upper classes, the shopkeeper subsumed their own identity into that of their client. Watteau's depictions of shops show proprietors mirroring their customers—a back and forth relationship reminiscent of the seductive 'this and that' shown in *The Laughing Audience*. However, here, that relationship is mediated entirely through the commodities sold by the shopkeeper.

The shopkeeper therefore had more in common with the actor, whose concealed 'truth' was primarily absence of substance—vacuity—than with the degenerate bawd. Watteau's *Pierrot* (c.1718-19) addresses such 'emptiness' through his direct gaze, which refuses seduction while referencing the actor's illusory power. However, bawds, shopkeepers and actors all deployed a range of tactics in the service of seducing those around them. How easi-

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[34] [Richard Steele], *The Spectator*, No. 502 (Monday 6 October, 1712), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), IV., pp.280-83 (p.282); Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage…*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for S. Keble at the Turk's Head in Fleet Street and others, 1698), p.5.

[35] Malachy Postlethwayt, *Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved…*, 2 vols (London: Printed for D. Browne and others, 1757), II., p.398 (italics in original).

ly one was taken in depended on one's perspective. This is literally true in the theatre, which provided an (architectural) context for illusion, and offered audiences a range of viewpoints on the action on stage (often inflected by class). However, as Sennett suggests, cities also offered their own range of perspectives. The experienced, ironic urban eye might be able to identify a bawd, or a touting shopkeeper, where the naïve country newcomer might see merely a friendly face.

Hogarth's *Harlot* compares Moll's blindness with the onlooker's practised eye; the *Beggar's Opera*, similarly, invites us to juxtapose the actor Lavinia Fenton and the character Polly Peachum. However, this thesis has shown that Watteau also plays with this range of viewpoints, and the extent to which he does so is clear when juxtaposing him with Hogarth. Building on the work of scholars such as Calvin Seerveld, this thesis has presented him as an artist of irony and wit.[36] It has re-asserted the *Départ pour les isles* as an autograph work, dated it later than previous scholars, to c.1717-19, and argued for its importance in his oeuvre. Modelling an explicitly commercial, urban seduction, the *Départ* reimagines *Cythère*'s idyllic courtship as the end of the urban prostitute's career, replacing the mythical island of love with 'les isles'; the speculative venture opening up to French citizens in America.

Indeed, though issues of perspective called attention to problems of governance and morality in the context of expanding city and commercial infrastructure, similar issues were important in contemporaneous discussions about aesthetics. As Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711) observed, art could mask unpleasant realities:

> Il n'est point de Serpent, ni de Monstre odieux,
> Qui par l'art imité ne puisse plaire aux yeux.

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[36] Calvin Seerveld, 'Telltale Statues in Watteau's Painting', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 14:2 (Winter, 1980-1), 151-80.

D'un pinceau délicat l'artifice agreable

Du plus affreux objet faire un objet aimable.[37]

Boileau's assertion that 'art' can make an 'objet aimable' from something 'affreux' partially echoes Roger de Piles's comment that painting should aim 'de séduire nos yeux et nous surprendre'.[38] However, whereas seductive contemporary figures such as the bawd were genuinely deceitful, Roger de Piles's 'seductive' art did not imply total deception. Illusionistic paintings such as Rembrandt's 1645 *Girl at a Window* (fig. 108) would only momentarily deceive onlookers, just as Hogarth's *Laughing Audience* should (in theory) be reminded by the play's framing context and conventions of the distinction between the 'real world' and the theatrical one. The seduction's transience was part of its appeal.

In this more theoretical context, 'séduire's' evocation of the powers of illusion were marginally less problematic. De Piles's amoral theories of art would later be superseded in France by the more morally-concerned writings of resurgent 'Poussinistes', such as Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne. However, in the early 1700s, the late seventeenth-century culture of *honnêteté* (often associated with Watteau) provided a context for an amiably seductive sociability imagined almost entirely through exteriority. François de La Rochefoucauld discussed how the *honnête homme* 'entre dans le goût des autres, et retranche de ses pensées ce qui est inutile, ou ce qui peut déplaire', since 'un esprit adroit, facile, insinuant, sait éviter et surmonter les difficultés'.[39] Perhaps for this reason, of the two artists juxtaposed in this thesis,

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[37] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *L'Art poétique* [1674], in *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Françoise Escal (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966), pp.157-85 (p.169) ('Chant III').

[38] Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes, composé par Mr. de Piles* (Paris: Chez Jacques Estienne, 1708), p.453.

[39] François de La Rochefoucauld, *Réflexions diverses* [1731], in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. L. Martin-Chauffier, rev. Jean Marchand (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1964), pp.501-541 (p.527), ('De la différence des esprits').

Watteau engages most directly, and enthusiastically, with the similarly 'exterior' problem of (aesthetic) illusion. Hogarth responds ironically to *honnêteté* through *The Laughing Audience*'s *beaux*: 'exterior' figures, who see the body and its clothing as 'amusing toy[s] to play with'.[40]

By contrast, Watteau's *Italian Comedians* engage in a complex multi-layered illusion that draws on the self-referentiality both of the contemporaneous fair theatres, and of seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Here, Watteau becomes a pointedly seductive mediator in his own right, controlling the viewer's response, and calling attention to the contrast between the painting's surface and what it represents—as Marian Hobson puts it, oscillating between illusion and reality.[41] This, again, draws on his use of the inherently illusionistic arabesque. As well as bringing outdoor settings and natural forms into the 'petit salon', the arabesque placed narrative elements—scenes of love, like *L'Enjôleur* (c.1708), or single figures like the decorative (undated) *Pierrot*—within illusionistic frames. Watteau's innovation was to emphasise these narrative elements, requiring the eye to oscillate still more between real and illusory. This interplay between frame and image remains a feature of his later work: the *Comedians* hinges on the relationship between the performing actors and the structure containing them.

Meanwhile, *L'Enseigne* calls attention, not just to a specific type of urban seduction—the call to commerce, but also to the materiality of Watteau's own art. More strikingly than the theatrical subject, or the arabesque, the urban *enseigne* is both a piece of illusion and part of a specific material context. How it is read depends on how it is viewed, and, like the *Harlot*, *L'Enseigne* calls attention to different ways of seeing: the connoisseur kneeling before a bevy of painted nudes, as opposed to the shoppers lolling on the counter and gazing at a mirror. The shop sign itself similarly invites the viewer to read it at once as an advertisement,

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[40] Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*, p.65.

[41] Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.51.

as a representation of Gersaint's shop, and as an artistic statement in its own right. At the same time, it calls attention to the 'exterior' quality of many of the urban objects available for sale here. *L'Enseigne* depicts works of art in a dealership, but the *Barbier* and draper's shop show commercial commodities (wigs, drapery) with the vaunted potential to transform the buyer from the outside in. By reading *L'Enseigne* in this context, this thesis has extended existing discussions of the painting, placing Watteau's illusion in the light of specific developments in eighteenth-century commercial seduction.

Juxtaposition

This thesis' juxtaposition has called attention to aspects of both Hogarth and Watteau that are less evident individually. It has shown that they shared an interest in seduction and its implications for the visual arts. They were both particularly drawn to seduction's address to time and narrative, and space and illusion. They both engaged with the material context of their work, moving between different media. Hogarth's works were translated and re-contextualised in his transition between painting and engraving, and from the single work to the multiple. Watteau engaged at once with the architectural-spatial context of the arabesque, the advertorial implications of the *enseigne*, and Academic easel painting. These contexts were important in how they conceptualised seduction; providing a framework for each to consider their own relationship with the viewer.

For Hogarth, the 'progress' form had implications both for geography, and for narrative structure. The transition from one image to the next imposed divisions between causes and effects, and 'befores' and 'afters'. However, it led the viewer's eye through a succession of images, much as they might progress through the paths of the pleasure garden, with the

artist-seducer alternately concealing and revealing information—controlling our responses; allowing us to wander. This is underpinned by his paintings' famously crowded compositions. While the figures in *Strolling Actresses* and *Southwark Fair* (1733-34) teem to the edge of the picture plane, they also form harmoniously undulating lines. The spectators of *The Laughing Audience* are packed on top of one other, but sit within a composition carefully, and pointedly, mediated by the artist.

Superficially, the arabesque form, with its decorative focus and emphasis on negative space, has little in common with this approach. However, Watteau's compositions are similarly interested in how the viewer's eye wanders through them, finding ever-shifting viewpoints, and ways of looking, all controlled by a seductive artist-impresario. These ways of thinking about visual geography were already established in contemporaneous discussions about landscape gardens, but both Hogarth and Watteau seem to have been intrigued by their application to the visual arts. Watteau's interest is arguably an expected consequence of his position within the developing rococo form in France. However, in juxtaposing the two artists, this thesis has suggested that Hogarth's work, often read primarily through narrative and satire, was inflected by similar concerns.

The artists' common interest in issues of perception, illusion and movement through space offers one explanation for the primacy of seduction—in its sexual, moral and theatrical contexts—as a subject in both artists' work. At the same time, it is clear from putting their work side by side that each had a different interpretation of seduction's meaning. For Hogarth, it was often a complicated, murky activity: *Before* and *After* establish an ostensible binary, but the missing panel *During* invites the viewer to project a range of interpretations onto it. The *Harlot*'s emphasis on Moll Hackabout's seduction by a 'bawd-at-the-wagon' similarly calls attention to the ambiguities of consent and persuasion in the space between Plates 1 and 2, in a way an equivalent emphasis on the rapist Charteris could not. However, while these

ambiguities reflect Hogarth's particular interest in issues of psychology, they speak to an equivalent ambiguity about his own status. In the same chapter that discusses the joys of the sexually-inflected '*wanton kind of chace*', the *Analysis* compares the 'love of pursuit' with the 'joys of hunting', seen in cats who 'will risk the losing of their prey to chase it over again'.[42] The allusion to the cruelty of the animal world resonates with Hogarth's depiction of the cynical bawd, for whom the country girl is prey. However, it also implies a certain equivalent cruelty in other kinds of seducers—including the artist.

Like Hogarth, Watteau also calls attention to his own status as seducer. Though Edmé-François Gersaint and Jean de Jullienne sought to efface the commercialism of *L'Enseigne* in favour of gallant *honnêteté*, Watteau put art's financial aspects at the heart of his final masterpiece. In so doing, he highlights the playful possibilities of seductive exteriority: the ability of both art and artist to create and reflect upon illusion, and to bring the viewer along with them. He also speaks to issues with which he has not often been associated, notably the potential of objects to transform those who own and wear them (in a manner similar to what Marx would later characterise as the commodity fetish). Even so, Watteau's seductions are not so much an issue of morality (as in Hogarth) as of pleasure—an amoral fusion of psychological and pictorial space rooted in his adaptation of the decorative context to easel painting. This partly explains his interest in moments of transition and of change. For Watteau, as for Hogarth, seduction was primarily about the joy of the chase.

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[42] Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, pp.32-33.

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